

COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

# COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW



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# REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'URBANISME



# COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW

## REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

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The relevant portions of Mr. Mackenzie King's will concerning Kingsmere Park are as follows:

The cherished objective of being able to present my Kingsmere properties as a thank offering for what has come to me in the way of opportunities of public service, I believe I have been able to realize and I hereby bequeath to the government of Canada as a public park in trust for the citizens of Canada . . . my several properties at Kingsmere, in the province of Quebec, amounting in all to nearly five hundred acres . . .

In making this bequest, I express the wish that the lands at Kingsmere may be maintained as nearly as possible in their present state; that they will be developed as parkland, and that they will form a wild life sanctuary and will continue to have the character of a natural forest reserve . . .

Believing that my successors in the office of prime minister may find, as I have found, a renewal of strength in this quiet place, as well as exceptional opportunities for conference on national and international affairs, I hope the government of Canada will consider the possibility of setting aside a part of the Kingsmere property as a country home for the holder of the office of Prime Minister of Canada . . .

Les extraits pertinents du testament de M. Mackenzie King se rapportant au Parc de Kingsmere se lisent comme il suit:

Je crois avoir accomplir un dessein constant: être en mesure d'offrir mes propriétés de Kingsmere en cadeau de reconnaissance pour les occasions qui m'ont été fournies de me dévouer à la chose publique; et, par les présentes, je lègue au gouvernement du Canada, à titre de parc public, en trust pour les citoyens de ce pays, . . . mes diverses propriétés de Kingsmere, province de Québec, représentant au total environ cinq cents acres . . .

En effectuant ce legs, je souhaite que les terrains de Kingsmere puissent être maintenus, autant que possible, dans leur état actuel; qu'on les mette en valeur comme domaine boisée; qu'ils constituent un refuge pour la faune et conservent le caractère d'une réserve forestière naturelle . . .

Estimant que mes successeurs au poste de premier ministre pourrants, comme moi, trouver un regain de forces dans cet endroit paisible, en même temps que des facilités exceptionnelles pour conférer sur les affaires nationales et internationales, j'espère que le gouvernement du Canada étudiera la possibilité de réserver une partie de la propriété de Kingsmere comme villa destinée au titulaire de la charge de Premier Ministre du Canada . . .



**Kingsmere Park: Gift to the Nation from the late Prime Minister**

*Photo Malak, Ottawa*

**Parc de Kingsmere: De feu le Premier Ministre un legs au Canada**

*Photo Malak, Ottawa*



# EDITORIAL NOTE

CANADIANS are now turning their efforts and resources towards national preparedness just far enough to prevent increases in normal building activity. The number of new dwellings finished in 1950 was barely more than in 1949; and it has been deliberate policy to restrict the number of new ones begun. While it is officially said that housing enjoys priority second only to defence, a keen Ottawa observer remarked a few weeks ago that in fact nothing but defence had any real priority at all. There are now signs of official recognition that such a state of things is unsound. If we have a lull in civilian construction it should be a short one. This little breathing spell may be followed by fresh spurts of building, and we should use this chance to examine the nation's community planning machinery: can it deal with the unmatched building volume that may lie ahead?

Planning is a methodical way of coming to decisions. Canadian community planners are bringing copious facts and predictions to the bodies elected to decide the shapes and workings of next year's region, city, town or village. How complete, relevant and reliable is this planning advice? What follow are the admirably frank answers of Canadian planners themselves; an appraisal of these weaknesses points the way to making the process serve better the communities we must yet build.

Basic is the need for more knowledge about human settlements: the forces that are forming, enlarging, changing and destroying them. The people in authority over our communities cannot do a valid job until their advisers know more about the life history of that novel biological organism, the mechanized human agglomeration. If our Universities must rely on wealthy cities for the means of their survival, so must our cities look to the Universities for the clues to theirs.

Searching for secrets of successful community-building, like hunting for rare ores, takes the time and expense of skilled men. Local governments in Canada lack the means to use those skills. Yet means for municipal remodelling must be found; for the removal of mountains to gain iron, oil and electricity is national nonsense insofar as those same materials are then squandered in overcoming man-made delays, dimouts and dangers in Main Street. Who wants to become an alderman, to be given charge of a complex monster but allowed, so to say, only a few button-hooks and the services of a travelling tinker to keep the thing in good order? Even

the best advice on the discharge of civic responsibilities is worthless without the wherewithal to follow it.

When our planning agencies have sound advice to offer, and our Councils the power and means to carry it out, another obstacle may intervene. It is a psychological blanket against clear reception of planning advice, inherent in that North American invention: the appointed planning board of laymen. Board members cannot have the technical judgment possessed by full-time municipal officers, nor the political force of a mandate from the electorate. It is significant that some of our fastest growing cities are removing the honorary planning board from the channel between the municipal service and the municipal legislature.

Let the science of cities develop and its lessons be voiced directly to a local government allowed the powers and resources to rule a twentieth century metropolis: one more thing is needed if fully satisfactory development is to follow. The collective decisions are not made altogether on physical grounds, but also on ethical and *aesthetic* ones. The ultimate alternatives from which authority must choose have therefore to be worked out in plastic, visible terms—with inventiveness of design and subtlety of detail. Objects not shown on land use maps can be eternal delights or everlasting horrors when placed in the paths of the householders. The only insurance against sterility in the outcome of the most scientific planning decision is to portray, ahead of time, its full image-in-the-round. Many a community that seemed to be making laudable provision for its future has felt keen disappointment with the flatness of results as built in place. There can be no more telling mark against the planning process, than that it leads to dull stereotypes.

Those concerned with the remodelling of our communities have big ideas about the reforms they want. That is because they place values correspondingly high upon the potential usefulness and attractiveness of the settlements of which they are members. Their reforms will take time and energy; but we have both, for the western world is entered into a long-drawn-out contest when, as in a siege, the redispersions that will count are those made not for days, but for decades. Indeed, the strategic defects of our industrial centres may turn out to be our undoing. These present months may offer us a lucky relaxation from the bustle of building, and a rare glimpse of tasks that will occupy the rest of our lives. Let's make the most of the opportunity, for the bustle will resume soon enough.

## Note de la Rédaction

**L**es Canadiens font en ce moment porter leurs efforts et utilisent leurs ressources en vue d'être prêts en tant que nation, dans la mesure où la construction ne dépassera pas le rythme normal. Le nombre des nouvelles habitations terminées en 1950 dépasse à peine celui de 1949 et le nombre de celles dont on a commencé la construction a été délibérément diminué. Bien que, dans les milieux officiels, on affirme que l'habitation ne le cède qu'à la défense nationale, un observateur sagace d'Ottawa affirmait, il y a quelques semaines, que rien d'autre que la défense nationale n'a vraiment priorité. Des indices portent à croire que, dans le moment, du moins en haut lieu, on considère une telle situation grave. Ainsi donc, si la construction d'habitations destinées aux civils doit subir un déclin, ce déclin devrait être de courte durée. Ce petit moment de détente devrait être suivi d'une nouvelle période de construction intense. Profitons de l'acalmie pour étudier les rouages que possède notre pays en matière d'urbanisme: serons-nous prêts à faire face au regain d'activité qui pourra se produire?

L'aménagement est l'art de prendre des décisions de façon méthodique. L'urbanisme se ramène à choisir ce qui est le plus propre à assurer le bien-être matériel de la collectivité. Nos urbanistes soumettent des données, des prévisions aux organismes chargés de prévoir quelle forme devront, l'an prochain, revêtir la région, la ville ou le village, et quels travaux devront y être exécutés. Ces prévisions, sont-elles à point, sont-elles absolument sûres? Nous présentons, dans les lignes qui suivent, la réponse toute franche des urbanistes canadiens eux-mêmes. L'analyse de nos faiblesses nous fait saisir la façon dont l'urbanisme pourrait servir davantage l'intérêt des villes que nous avons encore à aménager.

Il importe de savoir davantage ce qui se rapporte à l'établissement de la ville: les forces qui guident ou modifient cet établissement, qui en assurent l'expansion ou la ruine. Dans notre civilisation, ceux qui sont revêtus de l'autorité administrative ne peuvent s'acquitter convenablement de leur fonction à moins de posséder une connaissance plus étendue du dernier venu de nos organismes biologiques: l'agglomération humaine mécanisée. Si les universités doivent compter sur des villes riches pour en obtenir les moyens nécessaires à leur maintien, d'autre part, nos villes doivent se tourner vers nos universités pour se faire indiquer les moyens de survivance nécessaires à elles aussi.

Il faut, pour connaître les moyens susceptibles d'assurer un aménagement efficace d'une ville, recourir aux

services de compétences en la matière. Il va de soi que les municipalités n'ont pas, au Canada, les moyens qui leur permettent de retenir les services de tels spécialistes. Quel particulier consentirait à devenir échevin de sa ville, à s'occuper d'une administration très complexe, si on ne lui accordait, en somme, que des moyens fort rudimentaires pour bien s'acquitter de sa tâche? Même les meilleurs avis sur la façon de bien s'acquitter de la fonction civique sont inutiles devant le manque de ressources matérielles.

Mais lorsque nos services d'urbanisme sont en mesure d'offrir des conseils sages et que les administrations municipales possèdent la compétence et les fonds nécessaires pour les appliquer, il peut surgir une autre difficulté: on peut n'être guère porté à accepter les conseils techniques d'une commission d'urbanisme formée de citoyens ordinaires. C'est à l'Amérique du Nord qu'est due l'initiative de telles commissions. Fait significatif, certaines de nos villes que se développent le plus rapidement suppriment ces commissions bénévoles qui s'interposent entre les services administratifs et les conseil municipaux élus.

Faisons en sorte que la science municipale se développe et qu'une administration possédant et la compétence et les ressources matérielles nécessaires à la gouverne d'une métropole du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle en saisisse la portée. Les décisions à prendre ne portent pas uniquement sur les questions d'ordre comptable, il faut aussi tenir compte des convenances et de l'esthétique. Les plans à l'égard desquels les autorités auront, à la fin, à se prononcer, doivent être préparés de façon bien concrète, laisser voir de l'esprit d'invention dans les tracés et indiquer même les détails les plus subtils. Des objets que n'indique pas un plan directeur peuvent être, sous les yeux des propriétaires de maisons, la source d'un déplaisir constant. Rien ne peut jeter plus de discrédit sur les procédés d'urbanisme.

Vu qu'ils accordent une valeur passablement élevée à l'utilité et à la beauté de leur localité, ceux qui s'occupent de lui donner une nouvelle apparence extérieure ne sont pas précisément modestes à l'égard des réformes qu'ils veulent; il faudra pour les réaliser, ces réformes, du temps et du travail. Notre hémisphère s'est engagé dans une épreuve préparée de longue main; en effet, tout comme dans le siège d'une place forte, l'assiette du campement n'a de valeur qu'autant qu'elle est effectuée, non pas en vue d'un siège qui doit durer quelques heures, mais des années. Dans une telle épreuve, les faiblesses qu'on observe dans nos villes industrielles peuvent facilement réduire à néant nos efforts en vue de la victoire finale. C'est donc dire que les quelques prochains mois peuvent nous offrir une heureuse détente dans la vague de construction et nous permettre de prendre un excellent aperçu des tâches qui nous occuperont le reste de notre vie. Sachons tirer le meilleur parti possible de l'occasion qui nous est offerte, car la vague reviendra assez tôt.

*Voici le résumé d'une causerie prononcée, en mars 1951, à une réunion conjointe de la section de Vancouver de l'ACU et de l'Association du logement de la même ville. Mlle Bauer y étudie ce que comporte la crise présente à l'égard du logement et de l'urbanisme. Elle souligne que les décisions relatives aux programmes doivent tenir compte des besoins à longue portée qu'il faut affronter dès maintenant. Elle ajoute que, souvent, les crises font naître les occasions qu'il ne faut pas, toutefois, laisser échapper faute d'assez bien envisager la fin visée. Mlle Bauer est fortement d'avis que les organismes municipaux chargés de l'urbanisme devraient avoir plus de pouvoirs, afin qu'il ne soit pas nécessaire de s'adresser à Ottawa (ni à Washington) pour l'exécution de tâches qui, à la vérité, relèvent d'un organisme municipal quelconque. L'ouvrage de Mlle Catherine Bauer (Modern Housing), publié en 1934 et des articles écrits depuis par le même auteur ont eu une profonde portée sur la préparation des lois et des programmes d'urbanisme sur notre continent.*

## HOUSING, PLANNING AND THE NEW EMERGENCY

by Catherine Bauer\*

**M**UST the demands of the defence program frustrate our hopes for progress in housing and city planning? My answer is No, but with some important qualifications.

When I see how the admirable tools provided in our Housing Act of 1949 are being blunted and thwarted today I have to admit that progress on the domestic front is not easy in a period like this one. But the current difficulties in the U.S.A. are less due to the defence program *per se* than to the unhealthy combination of fright and inflationary boom that seems to be making us peculiarly reactionary at present. Moreover, I firmly believe that the defence program is itself being weakened by our failure to grasp its essential needs and potentialities in terms of housing and civic development.

### NO 'NORMALCY' IN OUR TIMES

Perhaps we should recall a few axioms about our era and the housing and planning business. First of all, there is no such thing as 'normalcy' for this generation, and if housing and planning progress depend on it they are a lost cause. World War I started when I was nine years

old, and since then we've managed to survive the first postwar adjustment, then a fantastic speculative boom ending in a crash followed by a world-wide depression, war again, then a postwar period—when we anticipated depression but found ourselves instead with an inflationary boom by the tail, a new defence program, and heaven knows what ahead. The only thing that is 'normal' for us is variegated crises.

But it's just because we live in such abnormal and unsettled times that conscious purpose, policy and principle are so badly needed at every level of human action. New problems are posed that must be solved somehow. And in such a long period of successive crises the real challenge for planners and housers, along with everybody else, is whether we can manage to do *more* than merely survive from one to the next.

### EMERGENCIES SOMETIMES BRING OPPORTUNITIES

As John Gaus pointed out of public policy in general: "Catastrophe, especially when leadership and knowledge are prepared with long-time programs into which the immediate hurried relief action can be fitted, has its place in the ecology of administration. It not only is destructive, so that relief and repair are required on a scale so large that collective action is necessary, but it also disrupts, jostles or challenges views and attitudes, and affords the inner self as well as others a respectable and face-saving reason for changing one's views as to policy. The atomic bomb gave to many, a determining reason for a change of attitude toward international organization."<sup>1</sup> Might it not also help us to face the facts of life about

\* This paper is based on a talk given to a joint meeting of the Vancouver Branch, Community Planning Association of Canada, and Vancouver Housing Association in March 1951. The author is perhaps the best known advocate of good residential development in North America, her *Modern Housing* (1934) and subsequent writings having had a decisive effect on both legislation and design. She is Vice-President of the National Housing Conference (Washington), a member of the Slum Clearance Advisory Committee of the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, a lecturer in City and Regional Planning at the University of California, a Council Member of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, and active in numerous professional and citizen groups.

<sup>1</sup> *Reflections on Public Administration* by John Gaus, University of Alabama Press.

one of the basic questions that confront planners and housers, namely urban decentralization?

It may be worth while to remind ourselves that housing and planning progress has never been conditional upon 'normalcy'. Quite the contrary, the whole history of the movement is the history of action taken in crises of one kind or another, by people and communities that had knowledge, long-term goals, and what Gaus calls "the capacity for fresh thinking". It was cholera and revolutionary unrest in the 1840's, as much as scientific enlightenment, that induced the British to adopt the great Public Health Act of 1848 and as a corollary, the first piece of national housing legislation, in 1851.

In America it was the great depression that really launched the movement for housing reform and slum clearance. While the last war, with its vast population shifts, effectively demonstrated—to industrialists and military authorities as well as to housing reformers—the dependence of productive efficiency on an adequate supply of decent homes, properly priced and located, and including a wide range of community facilities. It also proved that private enterprise could not satisfy this need alone, even in a period of high wages and full employment with Government assuming practically all the risk.

#### PLANNING FOR A LONG-TERM EMERGENCY

There is one particular aspect of the present international crisis, by comparison with World War II, that has significant implications for domestic policy of all kinds: it might continue in various forms but without conclusive action for a considerable period. Whatever the possibility of sudden all-out conflict, there is certainly little chance of any sudden all-out peace for many years to come.

Real planning is therefore required on the domestic front: planning to keep the basic economy and social morale healthy despite unavoidable strain; planning to meet shifting and unpredictable emergencies without all the waste that usually accompanies emergency programs, because we cannot afford such waste in a defence period that might continue for decades; planning, wherever possible, to solve immediate problems in such a way that long-term progress is enhanced rather than hindered. And there is no concrete aspect of domestic policy for which these conditions and requirements of the current scene have more positive implications than the broad field of housing, community and regional planning.

#### PLANNING FOR MINIMUM DISRUPTION AND WASTE

As the National Housing Conference summed up the U.S.A. situation last winter:<sup>2</sup>

The current overall national domestic policy . . . is apparently based on the premise that while we must

be prepared to confront an extreme emergency at any moment, there is a likelihood that the shifting and half-way war conditions may continue for a long period, which means that we should endeavour to keep our domestic economy functioning as normally as possible, albeit geared to maximum production guided to meet defence needs with minimum waste. How this principle should be applied to housing policy

**New Kensington's Aluminum City Terrace. A war housing project (1942) near Pittsburgh, built in a hurry to meet a different emergency**

*(New Kensington's Aluminum City Terrace). On voit ici une entreprise de logements de temps de guerre aménagés en 1942, près de Pittsburg. On a fait construire en vitesse, car à cette époque-là, aussi, il y avait crise*

*Photo Davis, Boston*



<sup>2</sup> *Housing Policy and National Defence* A Statement by the Board of the National Housing Conference, December 11, 1950

seems fairly obvious. It doesn't mean killing off normal home production, and then suddenly jumping into some kind of planless, wasteful, last-minute 'emergency' program of direct Federal construction. It means adapting the normal home building machinery to present requirements, by such measures as the following:

- (1) controlling the total volume so that minimum needs are met without strain on the military economy . . .
- (2) insuring that home production is fairly balanced to meet the current needs of different income groups;
- (3) geographical allocation of new housing to anticipate and meet serious local shortages induced by defence activity . . .
- (4) guiding the location and character of new housing and community development to implement national security policies of industrial decentralization or dispersal; and
- (5) in general, meeting emergency needs without sacrificing social standards and long-term civic goals, insofar as possible. . .

What has been gained by the housing movement must not be lost in the difficult period ahead, and what has been learned must be fully applied to the solution of new problems. Our hard-won laws and administrative machinery must be adapted to meet present needs, not tossed on the scrap-heap. Only thus can we preserve some continuity, at least, through a period that might otherwise become a kind of Dark Ages for domestic progress.

#### SLUM CLEARANCE MAY WAIT, BUT NOT HOUSING

Admittedly, some of our pet particular projects may have to be postponed. As long as we are unable to build enough new homes to satisfy the quantitative shortage and provide some surplus for replacement, wholesale slum clearances and redevelopment are likely to prove extremely difficult and in some cases indefensible. As we can demonstrate right now, efforts to force clearance despite a bad shortage tend to result in opportunist site selection, over-congested new development, violent opposition from displaced families, and serious crises in race relations. But planning for ultimate redevelopment should not be abated: it's a highly complicated process at best that might often be improved with more refined advance study. And here and there a sound project for immediate action will turn up and should be pushed ahead.

New low-rent housing for families from slum areas, however, should *not* be curtailed, although most of it may have to go on vacant sites. Since the overall volume of new residential construction will be restricted shortage conditions are likely to continue, hence little or no 'filtering down' of any kind can take place. It is there-

fore particularly necessary that a considerable proportion of whatever new housing there is should be directly available to low-income families. And of course, public housing will also be needed for war workers under certain conditions, and cooperatives should be encouraged to meet part of the 'middle income' demand, which is particularly great in areas of defence immigration.

#### PEOPLE IN FLUX: A COMPLEX CHALLENGE

With every emphasis on increased production of all kinds, there will undoubtedly be a speedup in resource development, including water power, and a quickening of the trend toward more intensive agriculture and new and more efficient industrial facilities. Decisions will be made, and new patterns of land-use established, which would otherwise have crystallized much more gradually. The need to apply everything we know and more about regional planning is enormous.

Increased production will in turn mean acceleration of our basic long-term population movements, from marginal to modern farms, from rural to urban areas, and from east to west. And it is population mobility that in essence not only creates most of the planners' problems but also provides opportunities for their solution. The fact that the current shifts may not take place quite as suddenly as they did in 1940 and 1941, simply means that this time we should be able to guide the redistribution of population more rationally, with less waste and friction along the way. New houses, factories, community facilities and highways will have to be constructed. At this time there will be particular need to locate them in some sort of sensible relationship to each other. Might we not at long last, pushed by the obvious needs and restrictions of the defence program, try to plan new development so that the 'journey to work' and the 'cross-haul' are actually reduced, instead of being endlessly increased at the cost of ever more insoluble traffic problems?

In the United States there is one aspect of a period of increasing production and high population mobility that has special implications for housers and planners: namely, the movement of minority racial groups to areas of greater freedom and opportunity, particularly the movement of Negroes from the South to the Northern industrial centres. The pressure of this influx, plus the improved economic and political status of Negroes, is posing the issue of residential segregation versus racial integration in no uncertain terms all over the North. Moreover, progress toward democratic patterns of social organization is not merely a local issue; it has direct international significance in the present state of world affairs. And a large part of the responsibility for such progress rests with the people who make decisions and guide policy in the field of housing and city planning.

### OPPORTUNITY TO PLAN FOR DECENTRALIZATION

Perhaps the most direct challenge of the times to the planning profession, however, lies in the fact that decentralization and dispersal are increasingly being promoted for reasons of military security. The metropolitan explosion has been going on for a long time and most urban problems are closely related to it in one way or another, including central congestion and blight, suburban sprawl, mounting traffic and transportation difficulties, the loss of open space, and the chaos of local governing bodies. But in America thus far, on your side of the border as well as ours I think, we have somehow failed to cope with this basic overall issue, although it is a key to everything else.

Like the blind men with the elephant, we have gropingly tackled this or that aspect of the urban monster piecemeal, without ever developing anything approximating an accepted hypothesis as to the nature and proper functional organization of the whole. Therefore our actions and policies have often been inconsistent and ineffective. We have never even managed to pose the issues and alternatives about decentralization in clear-cut decisive form, whether to ourselves or to the public in general. And we have therefore lagged far behind Britain in developing a positive and creative solution.

But now the issue is posed for us! Here is not only a chance but a necessity to decide which functions belong in the city centre and which outside, to establish consistent policies for decongesting central areas, to build balanced new communities surrounded by open space, and to work toward a modern pattern of regional development. For apparently, in this one respect if in no other, the military requirements for defence production and civilian safety have much in common with the requirements for peacetime progress in reshaping the urban environment.

The crucial question is whether housers and planners are good enough to provide responsible leadership on these issues, at long last. Already in the United States new plants are being scattered around the landscape in the name of decentralization, with no thought for the community development and permanently controlled open space that must accompany them if they are to function properly, whether for peace or war. It is proposed to build Federal office buildings for 40,000 workers far outside Washington, and in the lengthy hearings only a few unofficial voices undertook to educate Senators and Congressmen on the broader implications and requirements of such a move. To my knowledge not a single official of the Housing and Home Finance Agency has yet tried to explain how far the

Team Valley Trading Estate, Gateshead on Tyne. Suitable industries grouped in a selected area to benefit industry, workers and town

*Le domaine commercial Team Valley, à Gateshead-on-Tyne. Les industries appropriées sont groupées dans une région choisie, afin de bénéficier les industries, les travailleurs et la ville*



ordinary volume of construction, produced by ordinary means could go toward achieving an effectively decentralized urban pattern, within just a few years, *if* it were properly guided. Perhaps you can do better in Canada.

#### STRENGTHEN LOCAL PLANNING MACHINERY

The fatal mistake, if we are to solve emergency problems and at the same time make permanent progress in the long difficult period ahead, would be to leave the job to Ottawa and Washington. If our present laws and local agencies are unable to cope with the problems and opportunities likely to arise, then this is the chance to strengthen them.

The planners have often been accused of Statism, of promoting centralized power and authority. And of course Federal aid and policy are essential to many local undertakings today, whether in war or peacetime. But this continent is too vast and varied for concrete decisions so literally 'close to home' as those that shape housing and civic development to be made effectively in national capitals. And in a period like the present one—when there is serious danger of over-centralized bureaucratic authority in the name of 'emergency'—it is part of our responsibility in the housing and planning business to provide the one essential antidote: *local agencies equipped to do the job themselves*. Otherwise we may get everything from housing to New Towns dumped on us from above, perhaps stupidly and wastefully, and almost certainly unrelated to our peculiar local conditions and long term needs.

Moreover, as the previously quoted NHC statement put it about the USA: "The housing and community planning field is one segment of the domestic economy in which it would be relatively easy to adapt existing legislative and administrative machinery to serve emergency defence requirements." With strong and imaginative leadership at all levels, and the panoply of Federal aids already available, it should be possible to meet most emergency needs through "local public agencies and the normal home building machinery, private and public, with a minimum of direct Federal construction. And it could be done in such a way that long-term benefit to the community would result very often instead of mushroom shantytowns and hasty ill-conceived 'temporary' makeshifts to bedevil the next generation. It should be fair warning that the temporary [Federal] housing of World War II, which saved little in cost or strategic materials over sound permanent housing, is now a main source of blight." In Canada the process of adaptation should be easier than in the United States—since your housing and planning legislation tends to be much broader, or at least more flexible, than ours.

We already have planning commissions and housing authorities and land acquisition agencies for redevelopment. If their jurisdiction must be extended to the metropolitan or regional level, or if State enabling powers need to be broadened or entirely new agencies established in order to cope with the problems that are coming over the horizon, by all means let's see that it's done . . . before some retired general steps off the plane with a roll of standard plans, a deadline, and orders from on high.

*In this address given to the City of Quebec Chamber of Commerce at the end of March, it is argued that the planning adviser to a local authority must receive certain strategic policy outlines and indications of what is fiscally possible before beginning his work. The local body should frankly admit its experience of administrative and financial inability to perform its long-term planning function, and of the underlying public perplexity and suspicion in which these inhibitions are rooted. In Quebec, it would be a great forward step for the planning process to examine these questions more fully than is possible in legislative bodies; a Commission of Inquiry is suggested, to recommend what broad policies and legislative instruments will best enable the Province, its regions and towns to guide their development for the benefit of their inhabitants. The author received training in architecture at the Ecoles des Beaux-Arts in Quebec and Paris, was interned in France during the war, and has since been a chief assistant to M. Gréber on the National Capital Plan.*

## VERS UN ORGANISME PROVINCIAL D'URBANISME

par Edouard Fiset\*

L'URBANISTE est appelé à dresser des plans et à formuler des programmes pour le développement des villes, mais il doit le faire *sans recevoir certaines directives générales essentielles* et sans être assuré des *possibilités de réalisation de ces plans et de ces programmes*. En d'autres termes, il n'y a pas de politique nationale d'aménagement du territoire et il n'y a pas d'organisation centrale permettant l'élaboration d'études d'aménagement d'un centre régional ou urbain et assurant, après acceptation des propositions envisagées, leur réalisation éventuelle.

Pour illustrer ceci prenons des exemples concrets d'obstacles que rencontrent de tels programmes d'aménagement:

1 Tout d'abord, il n'y a pas de programme d'ensemble, sur une base nationale et provinciale—à moins de cas exceptionnels—pour le développement futur de chacune des régions du pays. Envisage-t-on pour une région donnée un essor industriel intense, à cause de sa situation stratégique? ou des facilités de transports existants ou à créer? ou de sa proximité avec la matière première? Ou, au contraire, prévoit-on que ce centre doive garder son caractère de place d'échanges ou de production de matière spécialisée, ou de point de départ et de ralliement d'un mouvement touristique ou autre? Ces données de bases

sont cependant essentielles avant d'entreprendre un travail qui implique une certaine prévision des activités futures et où il y aurait évidemment avantage à un minimum de présomptions plus ou moins arbitraires.

Ainsi les plans prévus peuvent être *trop ambitieux, trop modestes, ou mal adaptés*, et créer ainsi des difficultés futures, alors qu'un programme d'aménagement sur une base nationale aurait indiqué l'orientation désirable des activités de ce centre.

2 Si, en dépit de ce handicap, un plan directeur est préparé, après les enquêtes nécessaires, l'urbaniste se heurte alors à d'autres difficultés et incertitudes. Tout d'abord, le plan devant fatalement s'étendre en dehors des limites municipales, une commission régionale composée de représentants des municipalités ainsi comprises dans ces projets est nécessaire pour leur coordination et leur réalisation éventuelle. Une telle commission pourrait s'entendre pour les *éléments majeurs* du plan d'ensemble, *chaque conseil municipal étant requis par la suite de préparer son plan officiel dans ce cadre général*, mais une telle possibilité n'est pas prévue et ne saurait se constituer actuellement.

Dans le cadre même de chacune de ces municipalités il n'y a d'autre autorité pour approuver les plans officiels qu'un assentiment du conseil. *Le plan ne devient pas loi.*

3 L'utilisation du terrain peut être contrôlée—et en harmonie avec un plan accepté—par les municipalités qui adoptent des règlements de zonage. Mais ce contrôle est incomplet et insuffisant. Il n'y a aucun moyen d'empêcher des lotissements non économiques ou sur terrains requis pour autres usages d'après un plan d'ensemble—tels que les terrains de jeux. Il est impossible

\* Extraits d'une causerie donnée à la Chambre de Commerce de Québec le 29 mars 1951. L'auteur est architecte et urbaniste; né à Rimouski, il a étudié à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Québec et à l'Ecole Supérieure Nationale des Beaux-Arts de Paris. Interné par les Allemands de 1940 à 1944, il a travaillé dans divers bureaux d'urbanisme de 1939 à 1951. Depuis le fin de 1945 est adjoint de l'urbaniste-conseil de la Capitale Nationale, et a servi comme architecte et urbaniste à plusieurs autorités.

d'assurer des ceintures vertes ou de protection, les minima imposés pour les surfaces bâties étant basés sur des considérations d'hygiène uniquement et non sur le bien-fondé d'un développement limité. Il est impossible d'un autre côté de développer pour des usages d'habitation ou de récréation, de commerce, ou autres que certains usages publics bien définis et très limités de vastes terrains peu ou pas utilisés, mais dont le développement serait à souhaiter et qui sont un fardeau pour le gouvernement civique.

Les propriétaires de vastes terrains à aménager ne sont pas tenus de réserver un pourcentage de leurs terrains pour espace libre public, terrain de récréation ou parc. Tout doit se faire par acquisition ou expropriation. Est-il normal qu'une étendue de terrain morcelé pour fins d'habitation et mis sur le marché pour des familles qui seront appelées à en devenir les propriétaires, puisse être ainsi morcelée sans que les espaces nécessaires à certains besoins essentiels à la vie de ces familles y soient prévus? 4 Et nous arrivons à un point crucial: le contrôle de la valeur des terrains. (Ex.: terrains bénéficiant d'une plus-value due à des aménagements financés par le public, la totalité de cette plus-value allant au seul propriétaire qui favorisait l'inertie de ce terrain.)

5 Faute de standards établis sur les fonctions et largeur des rues, il est impossible de prévoir les artères importantes avec une emprise suffisante à moins d'avoir recours à des acquisitions coûteuses ou expropriations, et les plans peuvent difficilement être préparés en conséquence. Il y a nécessité de définir et classer les rues selon leur longueur, leur fonction et leur emplacement, et d'en établir les standards minima.

6 Il y aura maints autres facteurs qui seront en conflit avec des projets d'aménagement logiquement conçus: *le public n'est pas ou est insuffisamment éclairé sur ces questions; il y a manque de coordination des services municipaux pour tout ce qui a trait à l'aménagement; il y a de grandes difficultés dans la réalisation des programmes du curetages des îlots de taudis; le système d'allocation des argents publics ne favorise pas certaines natures d'opération; le système et le rythme des gouvernements municipaux rendent difficiles les opérations de longue envergure.*

Par cet exposé sommaire des obstacles qui se dressent devant la mise en oeuvre des projets d'aménagement (dont le but est d'améliorer notre milieu de vie), on peut se rendre compte des lacunes qui existent dans les domaines législatifs et administratifs.

J'insiste sur le mot lacunes—car il ne saurait être question de bouleverser les organisations, les lois ou les règlements existants—mais de toute évidence notre appareil législatif, ainsi que les moyens de contrôler et de guider la croissance des centres urbains et ruraux sont nettement insuffisants.

Il ne saurait non plus être question de se lancer corps et bien dans une aventure dont les répercussions peuvent

affecter bien des aspects de nos activités sociales ou économiques. Mais il y a lieu, sans contredit, de se pencher sur ce problème, d'en étudier les aspects complexes, d'analyser les conditions qui demandent à être améliorées, de chercher les éléments de nature à servir de base à la création d'une machinerie plus perfectionnée en vue de protéger et de développer nos centres urbains ou ruraux, de passer en revue les mesures qui ont été prises en ce sens dans les autres pays et dans les autres provinces du Canada, et d'établir finalement un programme d'action dont la mise en vigueur peut être graduelle. Certaines questions, en effet, telles que le contrôle de bénéfices disproportionnés sur les terrains à bâtir, ou l'interdiction de lotir certains terrains, sont de nature à rencontrer une forte opposition de la part des spéculateurs ou même des propriétaires bien intentionnés, ainsi que l'incompréhension du grand public. Ces questions impliquent une action touchant des domaines autres que ceux qui ont trait à l'aménagement proprement dit, quoiqu'ils y soient indissolublement liés et qu'ils en conditionnent les possibilités.

Une chose me frappe particulièrement—c'est que nous sommes les retardataires dans ce mouvement concerté des autres provinces et des autres pays vers une politique d'aménagement des territoires. Il semble que ce fait soit dû principalement à deux causes: la première est que notre code municipal et la loi des cités et des villes contiennent des pouvoirs plus étendus et d'une application plus facile que des codes similaires ailleurs. Mais ces pouvoirs sont quand même nettement insuffisants.

La deuxième raison serait une attitude irrationnelle vis-à-vis du concept de la propriété privée. On craint de diminuer le privilège ou la jouissance de la propriété. Et quoique la loi parle elle-même de se comporter en "bon père de famille" on conçoit une liberté d'utilisation qui met la vie de la famille même dans des conditions précaires. Il s'agit ici de distinguer entre deux choses: liberté et licence. Il s'agit également de distinguer entre deux catégories de propriétaires, celui qui possède son lot et sa maison et qui l'habite, et celui qui loue un nombre indéterminé d'habitations et qui en tire un bénéfice et en fait même son moyen de subsistance, entre celui qui veut lotir un terrain pour en retirer le plus d'argent possible sans considération des aménités urbaines désirables et celui qui va acquérir un morceau de terrain pour y construire sa maison et y passer sa vie avec sa famille. Et il s'agit encore de savoir si les mesures prévues, en réprimant les abus et en assurant un aménagement sain et logique des parcelles d'un territoire ne protège pas d'avantage le propriétaire dans le bien-être assuré des siens et le maintien de la valeur foncière.

Si la Province n'a pas encore adopté les mesures que nous considérons nécessaires pour le développement physique de son territoire, ce n'est cependant pas faute de demandes répétées à ce sujet sous des formes diverses.

Une des formes de demandes indirectes et non entièrement conçue dans le sens dont nous parlons qui a probablement eu l'action la plus efficace sur les autorités provinciales, est sans contredit celle des municipalités proprement dites, réclamant avis, aide et directives au ministère des Affaires municipales. Ces réclamations (probablement nombreuses et continues) ont concouru à la création d'un service provincial d'urbanisme. Le service cependant n'agit qu'à titre consultatif et ne doit chercher les solutions aux multiples problèmes qui lui sont soumis que dans le cadre des limites administratives existantes, et en utilisant à leur maximum les pouvoirs délégués par les codes et les lois en vigueur. Il n'a pas que je sache la tâche d'enquêter sur les mesures à adopter pour étendre les pouvoirs existants ou en suggérer de nouveaux; son rôle consiste à tirer parti, ou plutôt à conseiller les meilleures méthodes pour tirer parti d'une situation existante.

La suggestion de créer des *Town Planning Boards* ou *Town Planning Agencies*—c'est-à-dire des commissions ou des services d'urbanisme provinciaux, est contenue dans un rapport d'un comité fédéral consultatif sur la reconstruction, publié en 1944.

La Société centrale d'hypothèques et de logements a soumis un rapport contenant des suggestions pour la mise en vigueur de mesures légales administratives et exécutives ayant trait à l'urbanisme dans le domaine provincial.

L'Université McGill poursuit actuellement des recherches dans ce même sens, applicables à la province de Québec. Ceci fait suite à une analyse de l'état des lois applicables à l'urbanisme dans le Canada et plus particulièrement dans notre Province.

Plusieurs citoyens intéressés au bien-être de leurs semblables selon des points de vues parfois très éloignés, de même qu'un certain nombre d'organisations locales, ont à plusieurs reprises, en différentes occasions, suggéré ou recommandé une action positive de la part de la province.

En juin 1949, la Division de Québec de l'Association Canadienne d'Urbanisme réunie en assemblée annuelle à Montréal, adoptait à l'unanimité une résolution en ce sens. Cette résolution ainsi que les vœux exprimés par d'autres organisations ou personnes est restée sans échos.

Serait-ce qu'une telle demande est injustifiée? Y a-t-il disproportion entre le but à atteindre et les moyens demandés? De tels plans semblent-ils contraires à la structure de nos gouvernements ou en conflit avec notre conception de la propriété, du droit des gens, du bien privé ou public? Ou plus prosaïquement y aurait-il un écueil du point de vue électoral?

Personnellement je ne crois à rien de semblable. Mais en faisant un petit effort de transposition et d'imagination il est aisé de comprendre que le Gouvernement voit ces pressions et ces résolutions d'un tout autre oeil. Il y en a sans doute une multitude. La plupart sont sans doute

bien intentionnées, bien conçues, désirables même—d'autres le sont moins. Il y en a de toutes natures: des longues et des courtes, des timides et des audacieuses, des boiteuses et des anémiques, des explosives et des pudibondes, des pernicieuses et des vertueuses, des extravagantes et des chimériques. . . .

Il semble que la réaction logique devant ce flot de demandes et de suggestions est naturellement une attitude de prudence et de pondération. Il y a lieu tout d'abord d'examiner les lettres de créance de celui ou de ceux qui soumettent de telles propositions, de savoir si la personne ou l'organisation est digne de confiance et si elle traduit le souhait ou le besoin d'une partie importante ou significative de la population. Bref, avant même de prendre connaissance de façon approfondie d'un projet parfois long, parfois plein de conséquences et de répercussions graves, il y a lieu d'examiner attentivement la carte de visite du monsieur qui vient présenter ce texte, de lui demander des références, et de savoir au nom de *qui* et au nom de *combien* il parle. Si cette enquête préliminaire s'avère satisfaisante et si la suggestion semble plausible elle peut être acceptée d'emblée, mais si tout en paraissant acceptable elle entraîne certains changements majeurs, voire certains bouleversements, certaines innovations, il y aura certainement lieu d'agir encore avec prudence et circonspection. A ce moment, une étude complémentaire du problème devient nécessaire et demande la création d'une Commission d'enquête ou de recherches.

Il n'y a pas de doute sur l'honorabilité et la respectabilité ainsi que le désintéressement des personnes ou des institutions qui ont suggéré au Gouvernement Provincial de créer un organisme qui soit responsable pour l'aménagement des diverses régions ou centres de la province. Je ne sais ce que ces personnes ou institutions représentent du point de vue influence sur les élus, mais même si elles avaient un poids assez considérable, le manque de coordination et d'unité dans le sens de la demande est une cause de la dispersion de l'intérêt que l'on pourrait porter à cette question. De plus, comme vous avez pu le constater par l'énoncé des difficultés que rencontre l'aménagement d'un pays et par l'exposé de la résolution Nadeau, la réalisation de telles propositions exige des changements et des innovations assez considérables dans le sein des services gouvernementaux mêmes, en plus de mettre en cause certains privilèges qui apparaissent à beaucoup comme des droits inaliénables. Il y a donc peu d'espoir, à mon sens, de voir un gouvernement adopter de but en blanc des projets d'une telle envergure.

Cependant, si une organisation, ayant des attaches dans toutes les formes et toutes les natures d'activités sociales et économiques, entreprenait d'étudier le *bien-fondé* de ces propositions et si, après conclusion favorable cette organisation ou institution recommandait au gouvernement la *création d'une commission* d'enquête, qui ferait rapport sur les mesures à adopter pour mettre sur

pied un organisme provincial d'urbanisme, il semble alors qu'il y aurait une meilleure chance de succès.

Vous voyez sans doute où je veux en venir. Il y a peu d'organisations qui, non seulement dans notre pays mais aussi bien dans tous les autres, jouissent d'un prestige comparable à celui des chambres de commerce et aucun gouvernement ne saurait prendre à la légère une suggestion faite à la suite de l'étude approfondie et soignée d'un problème d'intérêt public.

Somme toute, je viens ici ce soir vous proposer un programme de travail alors que vous escomptiez, sans doute, avoir le rôle passif. Mais, je crois le faire à bon escient: la cause que je remets entre vos mains est certainement digne d'intérêt car elle a trait au développement physique de la province, à la détermination de l'utilisation du territoire, et au développement des centres urbains et ruraux, en vue de procurer à ses habitants un maximum de confort et de bien-être, et concourir ainsi à l'équilibre social et économique de toute la population. Et l'avocat, à qui je me permets de remettre cette cause, est un maître dont la probité est déjà une garantie de la cause, s'il décide de la porter devant qui de droit, et dont la science en assure le succès.

Ce ne serait pas la première fois qu'une commission aurait une action décisive sur un gouvernement. Je sais qu'on est souvent sceptique à ce sujet et que la première réaction à l'annonce de la création d'une commission est souvent l'indifférence ou l'apathie. Il est peut-être vrai qu'il y ait eu, à maintes reprises, de piètres résultats de ces enquêtes, qu'elles aient été marquées d'inertie ou de parti pris. Il est également vrai cependant qu'elles ont souvent été une source de progrès et de changements souhaitables.

Pour ne vous citer qu'un exemple, je vais vous exposer brièvement l'historique de la célèbre commission anglaise dont le rapport connu sous le nom de "Barlow report" a été d'un tel poids dans la politique d'aménagement de la Grande-Bretagne.

Comme vous le savez tous, la Grande-Bretagne s'est éveillée à la notion d'urbanisme (j'entends l'urbanisme conçu pour répondre aux problèmes créés par les conditions de vie moderne, ainsi que l'urbanisme sur le plan national) depuis la fin du siècle dernier et les écrits et les oeuvres d'hommes tels qu'Ebenezer Howard, pour ne citer que le plus célèbre, avaient déjà attiré l'attention du public sur ces problèmes.

Des mesures avaient été prises pour améliorer et faciliter les programmes d'aménagement mais, malgré certains progrès en ce sens, le problème restait entier.

Ce n'est qu'en 1937 que le pays s'attaqua officiellement à la plaie la plus vive qui était considérée comme l'origine de tous les maux. Le citoyen britannique réalisa que les 2/5 de la population du pays étaient concentrés dans 7 grandes villes; que cet état de choses entraînait ou était entraîné par la centralisation de l'industrie; qu'il en résultait l'existence de conditions de vie déplorables,

un gaspillage d'argent et d'énergie considérable, un danger social et stratégique.

Ceci était suffisant pour alarmer et le public et le gouvernement. Ici, nous avons la tête un peu plus dure. Ce n'est pas le 2/5 de notre population qui est concentrée dans 7 grandes villes, mais bien près de la moitié qui rayonne dans l'orbite d'une seule métropole! La concentration de l'industrie est encore plus marquée. La différence n'est que dans l'échelle—mais dans l'échelle du nombre et non pas dans l'échelle des maux!

Bref, le Gouvernement britannique crée la Commission Barlow en vue d': "Enquêter sur les causes qui ont influencé la distribution géographique actuelle de la population industrielle de la Grande-Bretagne et la direction probable de tout changement de cette distribution dans l'avenir; étudier les désavantages *sociaux, économiques* ou stratégiques causés par la concentration des industries ou de la population industrielle dans les grandes villes ou en certaines régions du pays; faire rapport sur les mesures d'intérêt national à prendre, s'il y a lieu, afin de remédier à cette situation".

La création de deux commissions d'enquête spéciales suivit immédiatement les conclusions de ce rapport. La première, connue sous le nom de Commission Uthwatt, avait pour but principal d'étudier les problèmes économiques découlant d'un programme de contrôle d'utilisation du territoire. La seconde, Commission Scott, avait charge d'étudier le problème de l'agriculture en rapport avec les projets d'aménagement et d'utilisation du territoire.

Les rapports successifs de ces commissions ont eu des résultats considérables, affectant la structure de certains ministères dans le sein du gouvernement, donnant un nouveau sens et une nouvelle orientation au programme de reconstruction et surtout créant dans le sein du public une nouvelle psychose, changeant cette attitude fataliste adoptée jusqu'ici vis-à-vis de son habitat et des conditions environnantes.

Un des premiers actes du Gouvernement Britannique fut de reconnaître la nécessité d'une autorité pour l'aménagement, sur une base nationale, cette autorité devant envisager une politique d'action positive et directe pour les problèmes ayant trait à l'industrie, aux transports et à l'agriculture. Parallèlement le gouvernement reconnaissait le besoin d'organismes régionaux et locaux. Ces déclarations furent suivies d'un changement dans un ministère existant. Le "Ministry of Works and Buildings" devint le "Ministry of Works and Planning" avec des attributions plus grandes et l'assistance de comités inter-ministériels afin de coordonner les travaux et les buts poursuivis par ces divers ministères dans l'application physique des programmes envisagés.

L'immense, délicate et complexe machinerie législative et exécutive commença dès lors à s'ébranler. Des lois nouvelles furent promulguées. On commença à recueillir et exprimer graphiquement les caractéristiques

physiques, sociales, économiques du pays, à établir les principes directeurs d'aménagement et à créer des centres d'enseignement et d'entraînement pour les nombreux techniciens qui seraient appelés à participer activement à la reconstruction et à l'aménagement du pays, à l'orientation de sa structure économique sous les directives générales de l'autorité centrale, à la détermination de l'utilisation du territoire, au tracé correctif et complémentaire de son réseau de communication, à l'élaboration de mesures de protection nécessaires, etc., etc.

Puis en décembre 1942 le Gouvernement créa le *Ministry of Town and Country Planning* dont le rôle était de s'assurer que la politique nationale d'aménagement fut mise en application. Ce nouveau ministère avait donc deux grandes tâches: coordonner les programmes et les besoins des autres ministères ou entreprises nationales, et ensuite les mettre en application dans l'aménagement physique du territoire.

Ainsi, déjà en 1942, la Grande-Bretagne avait fait des pas énormes pour assurer l'aménagement du pays, à la suite du rapport des trois commissions Barlow, Scott et Uthwatt. Et le Gouvernement n'avait pas excepté en entier les conclusions de ces rapports.

Des décisions majeures complémentaires suivirent la création de ces bases d'organisation: elles sont connues sous le nom de *Town and Country Planning Acts* de 1943 et 1944 et finalement 1947. Inutile de dire que les

derniers éléments des ces "Acts" sont encore à l'état expérimental. En 1946, le gouvernement publiait le *New Towns Act* dont la conséquence directe est la construction à l'heure actuelle de 14 villes nouvelles, ou créées autour d'un modeste bourg, selon un plan établi à l'échelle nationale.

Ce travail et ces bouleversements affectant la structure de certains ministères, l'économie et la physionomie du pays d'Angleterre étaient donc principalement dues aux rapports de Commissions d'Enquêtes.

Cependant, il est remarquable que ses commissions soient parvenues à des conclusions d'un ordre si général alors que la tâche qui leur était assignée était l'étude d'un problème de nature plus restreinte. Mais, encore une fois, on s'attaquait au mal le plus visible. Il n'y aurait pas lieu de procéder ici de façon identique et les buts d'enquête de notre commission devrait être adaptés à la nature du problème vu dans son ensemble. Cette commission devrait: "Etudier la possibilité et l'opportunité d'établir une politique générale de l'aménagement du territoire ainsi qu'un système de contrôle et de guide pour l'aménagement des villes, régions ou municipalités de la Province; déterminer, s'il y a lieu, la nature des organismes nécessaires à la réalisation d'un tel programme, l'autorité dont ils doivent relever ainsi que leur champ d'action, et faire rapport au Gouvernement".

*L'auteur, M. Higgins, est professeur de science économique à l'Université McGill. Il était professeur étranger à l'Université de Melbourne, en 1948-1949, et il a fait partie de la sous-commission consultative sur le logement et l'urbanisme qui a préparé le rapport Curtis, en 1944. M. Higgins souligne que, même si on peut, par rapport à Ottawa, s'inspirer de ce qui s'est fait dans les autres capitales uniquement, tout en tenant compte des réserves qui s'imposent, il n'en reste pas moins qu'une telle étude peut nous en apprendre beaucoup. M. Higgins prend ensuite les cas particulier de Canberra qui, selon lui, nous enseigne, tout d'abord, qu'il est important, quand il s'agit d'une capitale, de se dire que c'est une ville où on doit vivre et travailler: ce n'est pas seulement un endroit à admirer. En second lieu, M. Higgins maintient qu'il sera agréable de vivre et de travailler dans une capitale qui, en même temps, constituera un monument de grandeur et de beauté pour la nation, si l'on trace d'avance un plan dont la réalisation s'effectuera tout naturellement plutôt que sous pression.*

## CANBERRA : A GARDEN WITHOUT A CITY

### LESSONS FOR NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING

by Benjamin Higgins\*

CANADA is presently engaged in planning her national capital, under the general direction of M. Gréber. It is therefore important for Canadians, particularly those actively engaged in developing the plan or in guiding public opinion concerning it, to glean every shred of useful knowledge from the experience of other capital cities, planned or unplanned. Close analogies between the problems of Ottawa and those of other capital cities are not to be expected; the experience of other capitals must be applied to Ottawa only with appropriate reservations and modifications. Nevertheless, examination of the results of planned or planless growth of other capitals should provide a useful store of knowledge to help guide the development of our own capital city.

Canberra, the Australian national capital, provides an example of a city that closely followed its Plan. Canberra started from open space, and every step of its growth has been rigorously controlled in accordance with an almost static scheme. The powers of the planning authorities have been so complete that only the slightest deviation from the official plan has been possible. From this point of view, Canberra is a planners' dream. The lessons of Canberra, therefore, are lessons regarding what may be achieved, and what mistakes may be made, when a Master Plan designed by one professional planner is given legal status, and modified only in detail by subsequent planning authorities.

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What should a national capital be? Should it be a metropolitan centre, in which government activities are a minor aspect of the complex life of a great city—a city in which the majority of residents can go about their daily life without being acutely aware that they live in the seat of government, a city like London, Paris, and Rome? There is much to be said for this kind of national capital; it is not well for officers of government to be too much confined to their own society. If Montreal had been the national capital, as well as being a cosmopolitan centre uniting the two major Canadian cultures, and some minor ones as well, what a city it could have been! But that choice—fortunately or unfortunately—is no longer open to Canada. Should the capital then be a city especially created as a seat of government, designed from the start as a thing of beauty, a national monument, like Canberra and New Delhi? This choice also is closed to Canada. Even if it were agreed that a capital ought to be a seat of government pure and simple, Ottawa has more commercial and industrial development than can be scrapped altogether. Indeed, the unaesthetic and inconvenient nature of this development may prove a more pressing planning problem than the design of public buildings, boulevards, and parks.

Ottawa is clearly more closely analogous to Canberra, however, than to London. In the cases of both Ottawa and Canberra the choice of site was dictated largely by the need to placate the two major political units entering into the confederation. Jealousy between Victoria and New South Wales precluded the selection of Melbourne or Sydney, just as neither Toronto or Montreal would have been acceptable in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Both sites are graced with hills and rivers, surrounded by attractive and sparsely populated country, affording an opportunity for developing a city of unusual beauty. Neither site is especially convenient in its location; both are very far from some of the major cities, while being fairly close to the centroid

of population. In both cases a large area has been set aside as a Capital Territory with a much smaller urban area in the middle. Both cities are being planned along monumental lines, with considerable emphasis on open space, broad boulevards, and the like. Thus, despite the obvious and extremely important differences between the Canberra and Ottawa cases, it may be possible for the planners of Ottawa to learn something from the Canberra experience.

### HISTORY OF THE CANBERRA PLAN

Provision for the development of a new national capital was laid down in Section 25 of the Commonwealth Constitution Act of 1900:

The seat of Government shall be determined by the Parliament, and shall be within a territory which shall have been granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth, and shall be vested in and belong to the Commonwealth, and shall be in the State of New South Wales, and be distant not less than one hundred miles from Sydney . . . . Such territory shall contain an area of not less than one hundred square miles. The Parliament shall sit at Melbourne until it meets at the Seat of Government.

The selection of the actual site was a lengthy process. In anticipation of this particular problem of Confederation, the State of New South Wales had set up a Royal Commission in 1899 to report on forty sites. In 1903, the new Commonwealth Government appointed a Royal Commission, which reported on various sites, including Dalgety, a village near the present site of Canberra. A year later the Seat of Government Act determined that the site should be within 17 miles of Dalgety, and in 1908 another Seat of Government Act settled on the Yass-Canberra district. An expert Advisory Board proposed the transfer to the Commonwealth of some one thousand square miles of land, and in 1909 an agreement was signed by the Commonwealth and New South Wales affecting this transfer. Finally, a Surveyor's report recommended the present site for the City itself, with the Molonglo River running through the centre.

In 1911, an international competition for a design of the new capital was held. Walter E. Griffin, a Chicago landscape architect, was the winning candidate among 137 entries. Eliel Saarinen of Helsingfors won second prize, and Alfred Agache of Paris was third. The com-

petition and its aftermath seems to have been marred by some unseemly bickering, which may, however, have reflected a certain amount of justified dissatisfaction with the handling of the competition. The Royal Institute of British Architects boycotted the competition because the Minister of Home Affairs reserved the right of final selection. Perhaps in response to this pressure, in 1912 the Minister appointed a Board of Australian technicians to investigate the various plans. The Board found itself unable to recommend adoption of any of the prize winning plans. The Minister ended by buying six plans, from which the Board distilled a new one, not unlike the Griffin plan, but restricted in scope and concentrated on the South side of the river, where Griffin planned to put the main government buildings. It was on this plan that the government began to build in 1913. Then came a new Government, which invited Griffin to come to Australia. Both he and the Board proved uncompromising; the Board was disbanded, and Griffin was appointed Federal Capital Director of Design and Construction. In 1916, after another change of government, a new Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the plan. The Commission approved the Griffin plan, which now had some minor modifications. Griffin's last revision was made in March 1918, and his engagement ended in 1920; but the development of Canberra has followed his plan ever since.

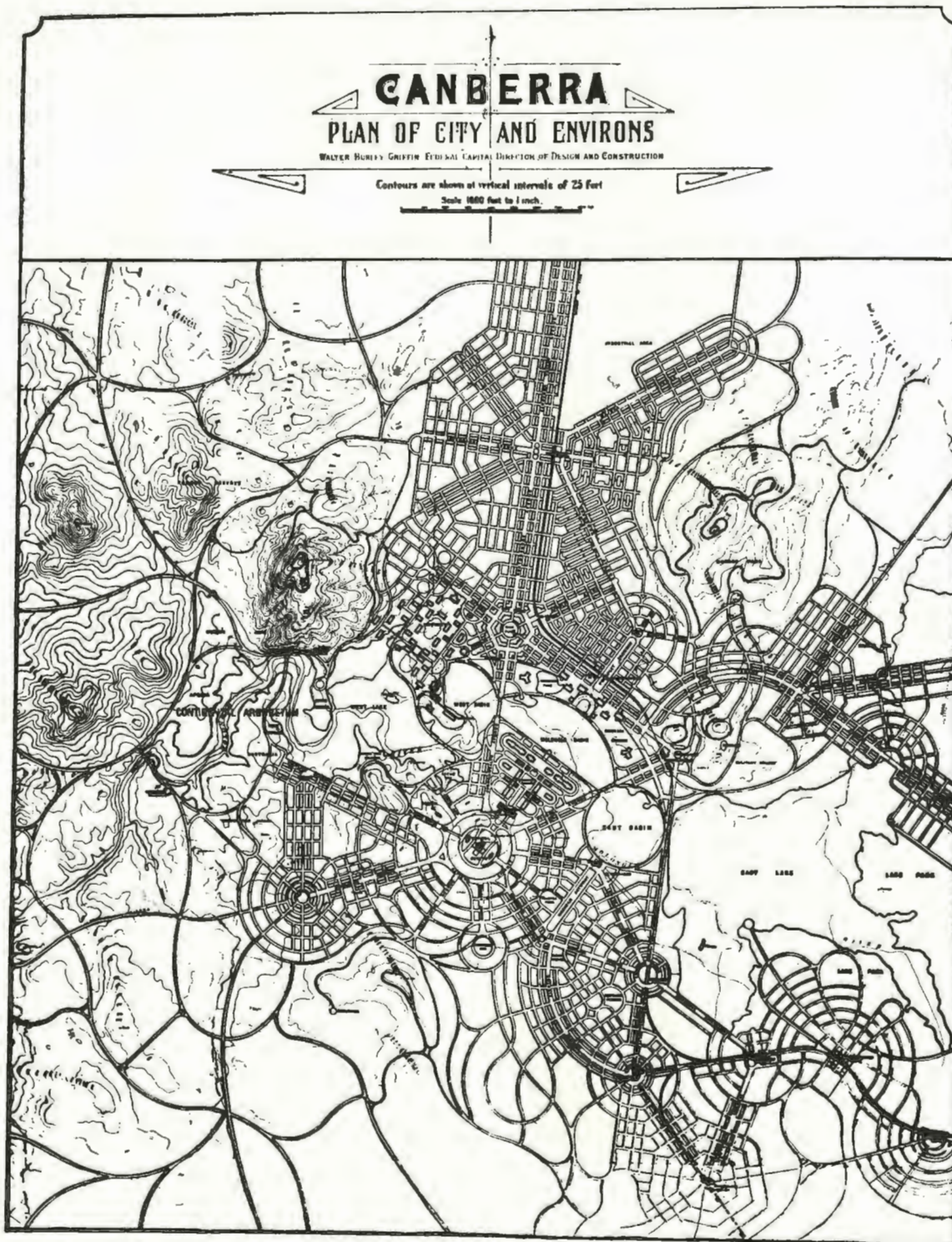
### FEATURES OF THE PLAN

While some may regret the removal of the national capital from Australia's magnificent coastline, there can be no doubt that Canberra has a splendid site. As pointed out in the Surveyor's Report recommending the site, the city is "visible on approach for many miles"; it lies "in an amphitheatre of hills". The city has the Australian Alps as a background, and within the Capital territory of 900 square miles there are a number of peaks over five thousand feet high and two over six thousand. Within the city itself there are smaller hills, providing local terminals to vistas and sites for monuments. The whole area is undulating, providing splendid locations for buildings. Through it flows the Molonglo and its two tributaries—a very small river by Canadian standards, but a river nevertheless, and the basis for the proposed chain of lakes (See Map No. 1). The lowest altitude is 1,500 feet, the annual rainfall is 25 inches, the mean summer temperature is 68 degrees and the mean winter temperature is 42 degrees.

As may be seen from the maps, the basic plan is dumbbell-shaped. The government centre to the south and the civic centre to the north form the 'bells', and a broad boulevard about two miles in length forms the handle. Other developments can be regarded as appendages to this basic dumbbell.

<sup>1</sup> The attitude expressed in a recent pamphlet issued by the Australian Department of Interior (*Historical and Descriptive Notes on Canberra and the Australian Capital Territory*, Canberra 1940, p. 2) is typical of the attitudes of our own fathers of confederation: "It is surely self-evident that the Parliament and the Executive of the Commonwealth should be in a position to function freely at the Seat of Government in the interests of the nation, without any interferences or domination, and independent of State protection. Thus it was important that the Seat of Government should not be in the midst of the large population of the Capital City of any State."

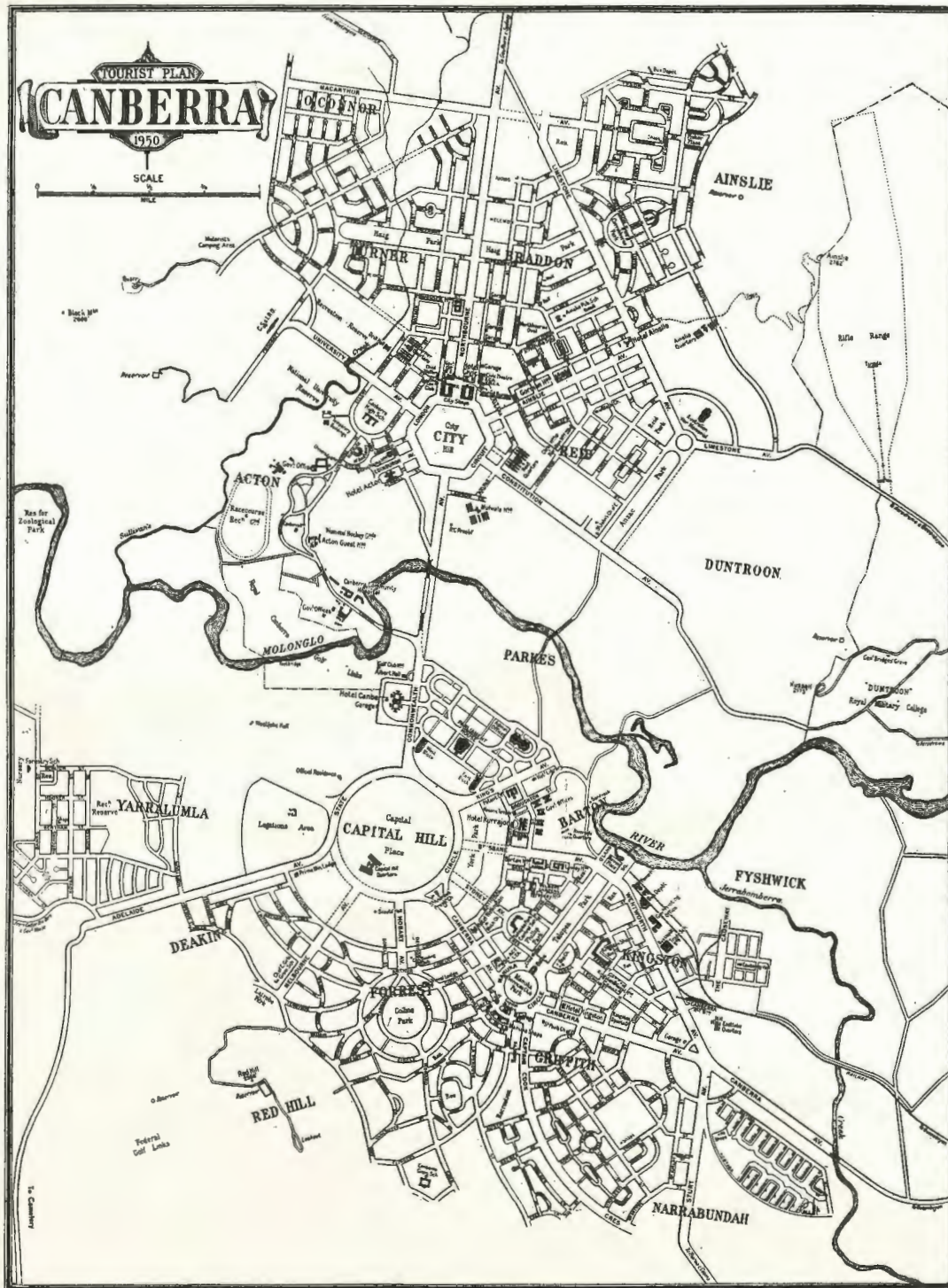
CANBERRA: A GARDEN WITHOUT A CITY



Walter Griffin original  
Plan for Canberra 1911

MAP NO. 1

Plan primitif de Canberra, tracé  
par M. Walter Griffin, en 1911



Existing Street Map, 1950

MAP NO. 2

Carte de la ville actuelle (1950)

## CANBERRA: A GARDEN WITHOUT A CITY

The most striking feature of the plan is the enormous amount of open space, especially in the very centre of the city (See photographs following). The area on both sides of the river is completely undeveloped, and the plan calls for the ultimate flooding of this area to provide a series of connected lakes. The impression of openness and space cannot be described—perhaps the photographs will help. From the steps of the Parliament Buildings one looks across miles of open space to the mountains beyond. The same is true of the Civic Centre. Sheep still graze contentedly within a few yards of major office buildings. The plan calls ultimately for an average density of seven persons per acre, as compared to Montreal's average of about thirty (with many areas where the density exceeds 150 persons per acre); but at present the average density in Canberra is less than 0.8 persons per acre in the 'city' area. Because of the enormous amount of completely open country surrounding the city

and visible from almost any point in it, the impression of open space is more profound than even these figures suggest. The present city is approximately seven miles by five, (there are 26,880 acres in the 'city area') and its present population is about 18,000. The population, however, is concentrated mainly in the residential 'dormitory' suburbs appended to each of the 'bells'. The density here appears comparable to that of a middle-class Canadian suburb; but around these dormitories are open fields. The great amount of space devoted to parks and gardens reflects the interests of the landscape architect who designed the city. The main avenues are themselves elongated parks; they are 200 feet wide, and have plantations within them as wide as 100 feet.

Another feature of the plan is its sharp functional divisions. Capital Hill is the main local point of the plan, and on it are the Parliament Buildings and the chief government offices. Only a few government offices are

East to west across the city axis. The unlined principal street: Commonwealth Ave. and Canberra Community Hospital. The War Memorial appears in the background

*Le centre de la ville, vu d'est en ouest. L'avenue Commonwealth (libre de voies ferrées) et l'hôpital municipal de Canberra. A l'arrière-plan, on aperçoit le monument aux morts de la guerre*



located in other parts of the city, some of them in temporary quarters. The Civic Centre is the commercial centre. Here are most of the shops, especially the larger ones, the post office, the private business offices, the commercial hotels and the like. (The Hotel Canberra, near Capital Hill, has a rather special role; many Members of Parliament live there when Parliament is in session, visiting dignitaries usually stay there, and it is the site of public and semi-public functions.) Apart from the Civic Centre, there is only one shopping centre of any size, much more restricted in scope, located in Kingston, and isolated shops in two or three of the other suburbs. The development to be permitted in the central area of the city is mainly of a public or semi-public nature, and of a kind that will not involve intensive use of space, such as the future National University and the existing hospital to the west, or the military college to the east.

#### ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL

Among the provisions of the Seat of Government (Administration) Act of 1910 was the requirement that the freehold of Crown lands in the Territory could not be sold. Thus the Commonwealth Government exercised control over the use of land by virtue of the simple fact that it owned all the land in the Territory. Two kinds of leases to private undertakings are made. Under the Agricultural Leases Ordinance of 1918, agricultural leases can be made for not more than twenty-five years. They require the extermination of weeds and noxious animals. Between 1918 and 1937, some 40,000 acres in the Territory were leased to veterans, on terms of 5 to 25 years. Under the City Areas Leases Ordinance of 1924, leases can be made for urban purposes up to 99 years, at rentals of five percent per year on unimpaired capital values. The lessee is required to complete the buildings specified in the lease, in accordance with approved plans and designs. Leases may not be transferred without Commonwealth approval. Zones were established for residential, commercial, and light industry uses. Up to June 30, 1938, 81 commercial, 272 residential, and 12 industrial leases had been granted, as well as 15 leases to churches, schools, and the like. The majority of civil servants live in houses built and owned by the Commonwealth, but 20 to 25% of the houses in the city were built by private enterprise, in addition to all commercial, shopping, industrial, banking and insurance buildings. Thus while considerable scope is left for private enterprise, the Commonwealth retains complete control of land use, and no developments inconsistent with the official plan are possible.

The plan was originally administered by the Minister of Home Affairs, as Administrator of the Territory; between 1916 and 1920, it was administered by the Department of Home and Territories, with the Depart-

ment of Works and Railways responsible for actual construction. Because of the war, little was done in this period. In 1921, a Federal Capital Advisory Committee of five engineering and architectural experts was set up under the Department of Home and Territories to prepare detailed plans for construction, in accordance with the Griffin master plan. Some members of this Committee submitted a report, once again recommending concentration of development on the southern side of the river, but the Government refused to entertain proposals which departed in principle from the Griffin plan. Under the Seat of Government (Administration) Act of 1924, a Federal Capital Commission was created by statute, reporting to the Minister of Home Affairs, and the plan was given legal status. Henceforth, the plan could be changed by the Minister, on the advice of the Commission, only after thirty days notice in the *Official Gazette* and with the approval of both Houses of Parliament. Even a change in the width of a street or the route of a sewer requires this procedure.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, the statutory plan is actually a bare street plan. It does not even contain the indicated locations of public buildings, parks, industrial areas, and

<sup>2</sup> The form of notification is illustrated by the following example:

#### AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

##### *Seat of Government (Administration) Act 1910-1947*

#### NOTICE OF INTENTION TO VARY THE PLAN OF LAYOUT OF THE CITY OF CANBERRA AND ITS ENVIRONS

In pursuance of the powers conferred on me by the provisions of section 12A of the *Seat of Government (Administration) Act 1910-1947*, I, Hubert Lawrence Anthony, Minister of State acting for and on behalf of the Minister of State for the Interior, do hereby give notice of my intention at the expiration of thirty (30) days from the date hereof to vary the plan of layout of the City of Canberra and its environs in the manner and to the extent shown on the plan hereunder.

Dated at Canberra this twenty-fifth day of January, One thousand nine hundred and fifty-one.

H. L. ANTHONY

For and on behalf of the Minister of State for the Interior.

(*Commonwealth Gazette* 209 for 1951, page 306, February 1.)

When the revision is approved, another notice appears, in the following form:

#### AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

##### *Seat of Government (Administration) Act 1910-1947*

#### NOTICE OF VARIATION OF THE PLAN OR LAYOUT OF THE CITY OF CANBERRA AND ITS ENVIRONS

In pursuance of the powers conferred on me by the provisions of section 12A of the *Seat of Government (Administration) Act 1910-1947*, I, Philip Albert McBride, Minister of State for the Interior, do hereby order that the plan of layout of the City of Canberra and its Environs shall be varied in the manner and to the extent shown on the plan on the following page.

Dated at Canberra this fourth day of May, 1950.

P. A. MCBRIDE, Minister of State for the Interior.

(*Commonwealth Gazette*, 26 for 11 May, 1950, page 1056.)



Parliament House (focus of south "bell") seen beyond the vacant central plain from the War Memorial (eastern edge of north "bell")

*Les édifices du Parlement (au centre du disque du midi), vus depuis le monument aux morts de la guerre (sur le rebord oriental du disque septentrional), par delà la plaine libre du centre. (Canberra, d'après l'auteur, a la forme d'une haltère)*

the like, shown on the Griffin plan (See Map 1.) Thus, the planning authorities are really bound by the street plan alone. Of course, there are implicit in the street plan the locations for government buildings, the national university, legations, the civic centre, and other major developments. In practice, the planners are bound to the main principles of the Griffin plan, so far as location of major buildings and zoning are concerned.

The Federal Capital Commission originally consisted of an appointed chairman and two part time members. In 1928, provision was made for the election of a third Commissioner by residents of the Capital Territory. The government which came into power in 1930 revised the administration of the plan once more; general control remained in the hands of the minister of Home Affairs, but the Department of Health was given advisory powers

on health matters, and the Department of Works advised on construction. An Advisory Council was set up, consisting of the Secretary of Home Affairs, the Director-General of Health, the Secretary of Works, an appointed Civic Administrator, and three elected residents. Two years later, the departments of Home Affairs and of Works were abolished, and replaced by the Department of the Interior. In 1939 the Government appointed a National Capital Planning and Development Committee, comprised of technical experts, to give general advice on the development of the city. The Committee has remained in existence ever since. Finally, in 1945, the Advisory Council was reorganized; it now comprises the Chief Property Officer and the Assistant Secretary (Civic Administration) from the Department of the Interior, plus one officer from the Department of Health,

one from the Department of Works and Housing, and three elected representatives of residents of the district.

### REVISIONS OF THE PLAN

The general outline of the plan remains the same as when Griffin submitted his winning entry. There have, however, been several changes in detail. The major revision made by Griffin himself, was the substitution of a through railway line for the loop in his original design. Griffin also reversed an early decision of the Federal Capital Advisory Committee to the effect that "utilitarian development and economy should be the aim in the first stage, leaving for future decades . . . perhaps generations, the evolution of the National City along lines that are architecturally monumental."<sup>3</sup> The original plan called for the development of the initial city south of the river, around Capital Hill, leaving the development of the northern 'bell' and its appendages until the growth of population required it. In this way a controlled but natural growth would have been possible. Unfortunately, Griffin began to fear that "vested interests in the initial city would prove inimical to the ultimate realization of his complete design".<sup>4</sup> Lest the authorities permit continuous growth at the southern end of the city, and never find the courage to leap to the other end of the city and begin development there, it was decided relatively early

in the game to start building the Civic Centre. Today, with the population still less than half its expected total, and with much open space at the south, the bulk of new residential building is taking place at the northern end of the city. Much of the difficulty and inconvenience suffered by the residents of Canberra spring from this decision.

There have been twelve groups of changes in the statutory plan from the time of its adoption to the time of writing. Ten of these were made between 1926 and 1943, one in May of 1950, and one in February of 1951. Revisions A to R of the Group approved in May 1950 are typical of the earlier revisions. Their rather slight nature is shown by the description of them, taken from the Explanatory Memorandum which accompanied the notice of revision.<sup>5</sup>

This set of revisions also, however, contained two changes of considerable significance. The first of these removed the railway from the centre of the city altogether. Griffin apparently did not foresee the development of automobile and bus traffic, and planned the railway as a means of transport within the city. (Ten stations were shown within the city.) With the development of automotive traffic, it is more sensible to locate a railway terminal at the southern end of the city, and remove the railway lines from the closely developed areas

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook for Canberra*, op. cit. p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Handbook for Canberra*, op. cit. p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> The descriptions are as follows:

*Variation A.* This variation consists of a slight alteration in the position of the existing streets and the provision of additional streets in accordance with the scheme of sub-division for residential purposes, conforming with the topography.

*Variation B.* By this variation, a short unnecessary street is eliminated, thus affording a better sub-divisional scheme for the section for residential purposes.

*Variation C.* This variation consists of the elimination of certain sub-divisional streets and their replacement by other streets in accordance with an amendment of the divisional plan to provide for more effective and convenient planning for residential purposes and also for the location and arrangement of community facilities.

*Variation D.* Consists of two parts:—(a) the elimination of an unnecessary street through a park area and (b) the provision of an internal street for the purpose of obtaining building frontages for allotments in a residential area.

*Variation E.* Provides for the introduction of new streets for housing and sub-divisional purposes.

*Variation F.* Provides for the elimination of certain streets and their replacement by new streets for more convenient planning for residential purposes.

*Variation G.* Provides for the elimination of a short street and its replacement by a crescent for greater convenience in arranging sub-divisional allotments for housing purposes.

*Variation H.* Comprises the elimination of certain streets and the provision of new streets in keeping with a revision of the planning to suit the topography and the economic disposition of sites for larger and smaller residential buildings, and also the provision of a suitable area for school purposes.

*Variation J.* Comprises the introduction of two small crescents to provide for housing frontages and partly enclosed garden features.

*Variation K.* This variation provides for the elimination of a short street and portion of another street to facilitate sub-divisional planning, and for the introduction of new streets to provide frontages for residential purposes.

*Variation L.* Comprises an extension of the existing street to provide additional frontages for housing allotments and for convenient connection therefrom to other existing streets.

*Variation M.* Provides for a sub-divisional street to obtain frontages for residential allotments.

*Variation N.* Provides for the elimination of a sub-division designed for smaller industries for which it is proposed to make provision elsewhere, and for the introduction of a short street to provide direct access to a main avenue.

*Variation O.* This variation provides for the elimination of a street, now unnecessary, through an area which has been developed for playing fields.

*Variation P.* Provides for the elimination of a street which is inconvenient for planning and badly located from the point of view of the topography, and for its replacement by a street more suitably located. It also provides for the temporary development of sub-divisional streets for the purpose of a workmen's housing area consisting of pre-fabricated dwellings.

*Variation Q.* Consists of the provision of a sub-divisional street to obtain frontages for residential allotments.

*Variation R.* Comprises the elimination of certain streets and the provision of new streets in accordance with the sub-divisional plan for residential purposes which is more economic, convenient, and in conformity with the topography.

The necessity for these variations arises from sub-divisional requirements which do not traverse any cardinal principle of the approved City Plan.

## CANBERRA: A GARDEN WITHOUT A CITY

of the city. This alteration permits the development of areas adjoining those previously reserved for the railway.

The second major revision was the elimination of the East Lake, which was to have been the largest of the chain of ornamental waters in the Griffin design. According to the Explanatory Memorandum, it is considered that the three large ornamental basins in the centre of the city and the Western Lake would make adequate provision for ornamental waters for the city, and: "... It is inadvisable to continue the provision for the large East Lake for which it may be difficult to provide adequate water supply. Moreover, the flooding of this area would eliminate a large proportion of the dairy farms upon which Canberra's milk supply substantially relies, besides holding up, for perhaps years, contiguous development. Expert opinion indicates that the omission of East Lake as planned need not adversely affect the beautification of the city and the satisfactory treatment of the

Molonglo River above East Basin by means in harmony, from a landscape point of view, with the general spirit of the original design."

Some of the revisions in street plan, while not individually drastic in themselves, add up to significant alterations of the Griffin plan. This comment applies particularly to the development of shopping areas for which Griffin made no specific provision. For example, the Griffin plan shown in Map 1 suggests that Griffin envisaged Manuka Circle as a rather minor shopping centre. As can readily be seen from the map of existing development, Manuka Circle has in fact become the main focal point in the southern end of Canberra at present. In addition to local shops, the football and cricket oval, the ex-servicemen's club, the theatre, a Roman Catholic church and school, a garage, and Canberra's only swimming pool are located there.

Other alterations in the nature and location of com-

**The main shopping centre, with government offices and hotel in the foreground, comprises an island of development amid undeveloped acres of pasture**

*Le centre principal du commerce (les bureaux du gouvernement et l'hôtel apparaissent à l'avant-plan) forment un îlot construit entouré de vastes espaces de verdure*



munity centres are in prospect. For example, Griffin's plan (Map 1), shows a focal point at East Lake Circle. At the present time (Map 2), the only structure within 200 yards of this location is a garage, and there is little prospect of further development in the near future. The present planning authorities consider it likely that this circle will be eliminated from the plan altogether at some future date. The Alianthus Circle of the Griffin plan may suffer a similar fate, since the development thus far has been entirely to the north of the projected circle. Moreover, according to the planning authorities, people in Canberra want to go 'down' to the shops in a quite literal sense, and the circle indicated on the Griffin plan would be on high ground. Consequently, it seems more feasible to locate the shopping area for this Yarralumla suburb on lower ground, nearer the centre of the residential development. Similarly, the building development in O'Connor and Ainslie has taken place at some distance from the junction of Northbourne and MacArthur Avenues, which Griffin apparently envisaged as the focal points for these suburbs, and the present shops are several blocks away from this junction.

Many of the minor revisions that have been made were necessitated because Griffin himself never had time to take full account of the detailed features of the site. Griffin drew his original design on the basis of contour maps and descriptive material, without ever having seen the site. After coming to Australia he made modifications, to take local conditions into account, but never had an opportunity to complete this process. For example, one of the housing allotments in the original plan was located on an old creek bed, which the later planning authorities considered unsuitable for the purpose. Similarly, there have been minor changes in street lay-out to bypass a tributary to Sullivan's Creek, which Griffin had not taken into account. Other revisions of this nature are under discussion. For example, the junction of Kings Avenue and Constitution Avenue may be changed to remove it from the hollow at the junction point on the statutory plan. Similarly, the road of the Causeway may be changed so that the Causeway Bridge will not cross the river at an oblique angle.

The plan is, of course, far from complete, and it is difficult to forecast how much the plan will be changed before the city reaches its projected size. Even the Parliament Building and the main office buildings, substantial as they are, are regarded as temporary structures. The administrative offices (the fourth group shown in the government triangle) are currently under construction, but are not expected to be ready for use in less than four or five years. The government's building efforts at present are being devoted mainly to the construction of housing units, which are regarded as the major prerequisite to the transfer of the remaining government departments from Melbourne to Canberra.

#### CRITICISM OF THE PLAN

The problems associated with the execution of the plan arise from its main features: the emphasis on open space, especially parks, gardens, lakes and boulevards; and its sharp functional divisions. Canberra is unquestionably a beautiful little town; but it must be the most inconvenient little town in the world.

In a city of 18,000 people, it should be possible for a good many residents to live where they can walk easily to their places of work and to the shopping and recreational centres. Others should be able to live near at least one of these focal points. Those who cannot walk easily to the points in the town which play the biggest role in their daily lives ought at least to be able to reach them quickly and easily by public transport.

None of these conditions is met in Canberra. Men working in office buildings in the southern 'bell' and living in a dormitory suburb appended to the northern 'bell' may travel more than five miles from home to office, even if they take the most direct route. If they go by the government-owned bus line they may have even further to go, since most buses do not follow the direct Commonwealth Avenue route from Capital Place to Civic Centre, but follow the winding boulevards which take them by the hospital and the few government offices located near the centre of the city. The service is infrequent outside of rush hours. Since the population consists almost wholly of civil servants and their families, the pattern of movement within the city is much the same for all families, and the rush hours are very rushed indeed. One cannot count on getting into the first bus that comes along, nor on getting a seat on the first bus that stops. Standing for twenty minutes on a crowded bus after a searingly hot summer's day in a busy and non-air-conditioned office, then walking several blocks across a dusty, sun-baked pasture to your home from the nearest bus-stop, is an exhausting experience. These are inconveniences of a sort which (substituting hot pavement for hot pasture) one expects in a large city, and which many people willingly tolerate for the amenities a large city brings; but it is not what one expects in a town of 18,000 people. Even in going from one office building to another in the course of a normal day's work, a good deal of valuable time and energy is lost in transport.

Griffin, a foreigner to Australia and no sociologist, probably failed to appreciate the importance of differences in national habits and attitudes. Perhaps even in Griffin's Chicago, husband and wife sallied forth together on Saturday afternoon to do the week's shopping. Perhaps even in 1911, some people relied on telephone orders and deliveries during the week, and Griffin may have anticipated the spread of this practice. In Canberra, shops are normally closed on Saturdays after 11.30 a.m., and many are not open on Saturday at all. Moreover, the Australian husband is not trained to share in shopping

expeditions; his Saturdays are sacred to the 'pub' and the football grounds. Daily deliveries are almost unheard of. Thus the shopping burden falls on the housewife, and distances are important.

The Canberra housewife may live a mile or more from the nearest shop. She may feel disinclined to battle her way on to a bus during rush hours, even if her household duties permit her to do so; at other hours the service is sparse, especially in the residential districts, and in any case the bus route may not come within blocks of her home. As a rule she finds it easier to walk. I once said to the wife of a Canberra friend: "In Canberra, every prospect pleases." She replied: "Not when you have to see the prospects lugging a string bag full of groceries in blazing sun or pouring rain." If it is not merely a matter of bread or baby oil, but one of a new blouse, only the shops in Civic Centre are at all adequate. If the unfortunate housewife lives on the periphery of one of the southern suburbs, her shopping in this case may involve a round trip of nearly fifteen miles.

Once home for dinner, when husband and wife consider visiting friends or seeing a movie (the usual range of evening recreation in this capital city)<sup>6</sup> the transportation problem arises again. If the family lives on the periphery of one dormitory suburb and the friends on the periphery of another, the visit may involve a trip of six or seven miles each way. If Junior wants to go for a swim at the public swimming pool during the day, he too faces a transport problem. To live comfortably in Canberra, a family needs two cars. Few civil servants or Members of Parliament can afford them; a good many Canberra families can't even afford even one car.

Some of the difficulties with the development of Canberra arise from the fact that Griffin concentrated on the 'Federal Capital' aspects of the plan, to the almost total neglect of the civic aspects. He made no specific provision for the shopping centres, community services, schools, or other focal points. At the same time, his street plan suggests certain ideas concerning the location of focal points. Thus, the present planning authorities have no clear cut guides to location of focal points, but

are tied to a street plan which severely limits their freedom in choosing focal points. This situation complicates the adaptation of the plan to developing problems. For example, the Griffin plan shows a ring of small blocks of buildings around the six sides of Civic Circle (now London Circuit). Griffin apparently intended all these blocks to be used for commercial purposes. The present planners consider it impractical to follow this plan, since the distances between shops would then be so great as to necessitate a bus service around the circuit for the sole purpose of carrying people from one shop to another. In fact (as indicated on Map 2) only two of these proposed blocks have actually been developed. The eastern block, and the east side of the western block, are now given over to shops. The remainder of the northern block contains banks, insurance companies, law offices, airway terminals, a few government offices and Canberra University College.

Traffic problems have already arisen in this area. Northbourne Avenue is the main highway from Sydney. As presently located, it brings the through traffic into the very centre of this main shopping district. During shopping hours, this area is crowded with pedestrians and local vehicular traffic. The through traffic is tied up, the danger of accidents is increased. It would be desirable to route the through traffic around the Civic Centre, but the advanced stage of development in some of the immediately surrounding area makes this solution difficult. Present plans are accordingly aimed at shifting commercial developments to the area north-east of the present shopping area, and use of the undeveloped area at the north-west for other services of a type requiring less local traffic.

Thus despite its open plan, Canberra already has its traffic problems. By the time the population reaches the projected 40,000, serious traffic problems will have emerged, many of which will be the result of Griffin's failure to foresee the development of motor traffic, and the difficulty of adapting his plan to it.

While the rigidity of the statutory plan is the chief source of trouble, not every departure from it has had happy consequences. Some of the 'temporary' deviations, in particular, have created their own problems. Indeed, it could be said that one of the chief problems associated with urban development—slums—occurs in Canberra only where 'temporary' departures from the plan have been made. Two of these slums are temporary housing developments built just after World War I, in an area not ultimately intended for residential building. One of these developments is behind Causeway Hall in Kingston, the other between Westlake Hall and the Legations Area. They consist of small, substandard cottages built in 1920 to provide temporary quarters for the builders brought to Canberra at that time. The Causeway settlement is on the fringe of the present

<sup>6</sup> None of the buildings proposed for Griffin's recreational group (Map No. 1, Capital Terrace, just north east of Molonglo Basin) has been built, or is planned for early construction. It may be that this fact disorients the Australians less than the foreign visitor. As one observer has put it, "Griffin had a very non-Australian idea of recreation, as the buildings are intended to house recreational activities of the non-athletic type, such as art galleries, museums, little theatres, etc. . . ." My own impression was that many civil servants, having been trained abroad and having lived in Australia's great metropolitan centres, missed such cultural amenities very much indeed. It is probably true, however, that a greater number of Canberra residents would have missed more keenly the race tracks, tennis courts, football and cricket, for which Griffin made no provision, and for which somewhat inadequate provision has been made by his successors.

industrial area, where the local saw-mills, woodworking shops, etc. are situated. The Westlake settlement is tucked behind a small hill where it is invisible from the main thoroughfares, and some Canberra residents are unaware of its existence. The living conditions there are made all the less satisfactory by the refusal of the Minister of Interior to permit the establishment of shops in the area, on the grounds that the whole project is temporary and to foster further development there would be contrary to the principles of the Griffin plan.

Another type of slum condition is provided by the temporary 'quarters'. These are one-story frame buildings of a barracks type, unattractive in appearance and providing a bare minimum of shelter. There are several of these, at Eastlake, Riverside, Mulwalla, Turner, Reid, Ainslie, and on Capital Hill itself (See Map 2). As one observer expresses it "the worst of these are really bad,

and the best have newness as their sole virtue". The prefabricated structures at Narrabundah, also slated for ultimate removal, are a third type of slum or potential slum. With housing accommodation as short as it is, it is unlikely that these substandard housing developments will be removed in the near future.

Housing has the top building priority in Canberra, and residential construction is proceeding in most suburbs. Unfortunately, the houses being built currently are small, and few indeed are architectural gems (See Page 100). Virtually no houses are built with more than three bedrooms, and relatively few with more than two bedrooms. Canberra has a relatively high birth rate, and a good many families have more than two children. Thus as the present large crop of youngsters reach their 'teens, some awkward problems will arise from the limited number of bedrooms.

**Ornamentally planted open spaces abound in the residential suburbs. This shows the greater part of the "bell" south-east of Parliament House**

*On trouve une profusion d'espaces libres artistiquement plantées dans les banlieues d'habitation. On voit ici la plus grande partie du disque du midi, au sud-est des édifices parlementaires*



CANBERRA: A GARDEN WITHOUT A CITY



The soil is unrewarding. The great difference between these houses lies in the tree cover, with gumwoods most prominent

*La terre est peu nourricière. La principale différence qu'on observe à l'égard des maisons qui apparaissent ici, c'est la frondaison qui les entoure, surtout des eucalyptus*



*Australian official photographs  
used throughout this article*

## CONCLUSIONS

One might quibble with the Canberra plan on minor points. Even on aesthetic grounds, differences of opinion might arise. One might question, for example, whether English rose gardens really look well against caked orange soil, and bare brown hills, and whether the native trees and shrubs are not more appropriate. One might point to the bleak monotony and mediocrity of the architecture and street patterns in some of the newer residential suburbs. One might lament the lack of pavement which makes these suburbs dust-bowls in dry weather and seas of mud when it rains. One might question whether sharp functional divisions create the maximum urban charm. But these are details. Griffin and his followers set out to make Canberra a beautiful garden city. Few would deny that they have made Canberra a beautiful garden; but it is a garden without a city.

The specific defects of Canberra as a place to live in can still be remedied by modifying the plan. There is already some move to build up local shopping areas within the residential districts, and to establish corner grocery and drug stores. Such moves encounter opposition from those with vested interests in shops already built in the present centres, and even if these vested interests are not permitted to sway government policy, some redistribution of space in the existing main shopping centres may be necessary if neighbourhood shopping centres are permitted. Blocks of flats for relatively small families could be built in the open space in the centre of town, thus providing many with easy access to office, shops, and recreation. A greater number of diversified, unobnoxious industries could be allowed to locate on the periphery, thus reducing somewhat the dreadful and dangerous sociological uniformity of the city. More through bus routes could be provided. Some of these modifications are already under discussion, but where they require radical departures from the original plan, it is very doubtful whether they will be carried through.

The important lesson to be learned from Canberra experience, and to be applied to the Ottawa plan, is one of principle rather than one of detail. Canberra illustrates the danger of planning a capital city exclusively as a national monument, without adequate consideration of the interests of the people who are actually going to live and work in it. More broadly, it illustrates the need to plan on the basis of objective principles, rather than on the basis of the taste and opinion of the professional planner as to what a pretty city should look like.

Elsewhere I have defined the purpose of community planning as "to give the people of the community the pattern of land use they want, as indicated by their willingness as individuals or as a group of tax payers to cover its cost, over a period extending as far into the future as useful forecasting permits".<sup>7</sup>

This definition raises serious questions as to just how the market and the polling booth can best be used to discover the wishes of the community with regard to land use; but those wishes can be translated into measurable quantities to a substantial degree, and to do so has the great advantage of making decisions depend on the expressed wishes of the community, which are factors objective to the planner himself. This approach therefore limits the degree to which planning decisions reflect the taste and opinion of planners as mere subjective phenomena.

This approach applies with as much force to a capital city as to any other. However, in the case of a capital city, there is a special problem in defining the 'community' whose interests are to be served. Can the 'community' be limited to actual residents? Can a capital city be planned solely to provide legislators, civil servants and other residents a pleasant, healthy, and efficient environment in which to live and work? Or must it also be planned so as to impress foreigners and visitors from other parts of the country with its beauty?

It is clear that non-residents have an interest in a capital city in a way that does not pertain to other cities. The people of Canada as a whole would like to have a capital of which they can be proud. The development of a capital city is not paid for by residents alone, but by citizens of the country as a whole. It is therefore reasonable, and within the scope of the above definition of purposes of planning, to give the people of Canada as well as the residents of Ottawa some voice in the final choice of a plan for Ottawa, and in its modifications as time goes by. Such a voice can be assured by stimulating wide public discussion of the plan and giving Parliament ultimate control over its adoption and modification. But it is surely obvious that the people living in a capital city are the ones most directly concerned with its development. It is to the advantage of the whole nation to have a satisfactory working and living environment for those who constitute its government, and even visitors to a capital city soon become aware of its functional defects, however beautiful it may be. It follows that special efforts should be made to obtain reactions to the plan from residents of Ottawa and the Capital Territory, and that Municipal Governments in the Territory should have a strong voice in the adoption and modification of the plan.

The primary lesson to be learned from Canberra experience, then, is the importance of treating a capital city as a place in which to work and live—more than as a place at which to look—and of seeking as direct an expression as can be obtained of the wishes of the residents as to how they want their city to develop. Expression of the wishes of non-residents regarding the

<sup>7</sup> B. Higgins, "Towards a Science of Community Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Winter, 1950.

## CANBERRA: A GARDEN WITHOUT A CITY

development of their capital should also be sought, but should be given less weight than the wishes of those who are in daily contact with the problems of the city.

The secondary lesson is that for a capital city to be at once a pleasant place in which to live and work and a national monument of beauty and dignity, its planning must take the form of directed growth rather than forced growth. Whatever may be the evils attending the unregulated growth of a city, it at least reflects the wishes of *some* members of the community; when these wishes accord with those of the community as a whole, they should not be interfered with to provide some professional planner an opportunity to give expression to his own taste in cities. It is not merely a matter of applying generally accepted democratic principles; it is even more a matter of wide differences in taste and opinion among planners, and the need for an objective criterion for resolving them. I can think of no objective criterion more satisfactory than the expressed wishes of the community. These wishes will change as the city evolves. Consequently, in sharp contrast to the Canberra plan, the plan should be a dynamic one, subject to continuous revision in broad outline as well as in detail, as new problems arise and new tastes develop.

Canberra also provides certain lessons regarding details of planning. First, open space, broad boulevards, and large parks and gardens may be attractive in appearance, but they frustrate the main reason for urban development: the convenience of having facilities for a variety of activities in a relatively small area. Second, a 'static'

plan, adopted once and for all and subject to change only through the cumbersome machinery of approval by both Houses of Parliament, is apt to lag farther and farther behind changing needs; perhaps a special Parliamentary Committee might be set up to discuss revisions with the professional planners, with only major revisions submitted to the test of Parliament as a whole. The referendum device might be used to obtain periodic indications of the wishes of the community concerning the plan. Third, because of the greater homogeneity of the patterns of work and play in a capital city than in other cities, the problem of congestion and traffic control is greater than in other cities of comparable size, and so requires even more careful attention than in those cities.

Finally, if co-operation of the experts in the country is to be obtained, their advice must be sought from the beginning and continuously thereafter. The Canberra experience shows the importance of a thorough understanding of the habits and attitudes of the society for which the plan is designed, if the result is to be satisfactory. On the whole, the plan developed by the Board of Australian technicians in 1912 seems a better plan than the Griffin plan finally adopted; by concentrating the *early* development of the city on the south side of the river, a directed natural growth could have been achieved that would have avoided most of the major difficulties created by the present plan. At least it would have been an Australian plan, and if a plan is to be imperfect, it causes less dissatisfaction if it can be regarded as a product of the people of the country itself.

*L'auteur de l'article que voici est le directeur du service d'urbanisme au ministère de l'Industrie et de l'Expansion, au Nouveau-Brunswick. De concert avec le ministère provincial des Terres et des Mines, on a élaboré un programme grâce auquel les collectivités moins importantes pourront recueillir à peu de frais certaines données qui serviront de base aux programmes et propositions futures.*

## INEXPENSIVE BASE MAPS FOR SMALL COMMUNITIES

by Donald Taylor\*

IT WOULD, I believe, be correct to assume that everyone in Canada has at some time or other heard or read of wailing from the east regarding low population densities, lack of large metropolitan centres and the generally retarded urbanization of the Maritime provinces. Rather than feel sorry for ourselves, as have so many in the past, we should consider ourselves lucky in having so few sprawling urban areas and a relatively low urban population.<sup>1</sup>

Granting that the Maritimes are not particularly fortunate from the standpoint of industrial production, freight rates, defence contracts and income per capita, we are definitely fortunate in the eyes of the sportsman and the community planner.

Here, due to the low degree of urbanization, the resident planner has the opportunity to prevent the occurrence of—rather than alleviate the end results of—blight, traffic congestion and all the other evils of a diseased urban organism. Here we can still apply community planning principles to the town or village before it has tread the “topsy” path too long. We find the Maritimes in approximately the same position, in regard to urbanization, as obtained in Ontario in 1891.

In order to take advantage of the above situation the Planning Division of the Department of Industry and Development of New Brunswick has undertaken: (1) to educate the local authorities to the value and need of community planning; and (2) to assist the local authorities in the development and administration of their planning programs.

In our educational campaign we were emphatic re-

garding the fact that all communities, no matter how small or how large, could derive benefits from the creation and effectuation of a comprehensive program of community planning. All we had to do was to indicate the chaotic situation existing in unplanned urban centres and a Planning Commission was formed.

There was however an expense problem in the small community, which appeared likely at the time to prevent the development of the planning program. How could the small community acquire the fundamental data on which to base its plans and recommendations, with a Planning Commission budget of perhaps 50 to 100 dollars per annum?

All methods of survey were investigated, both air and ground; but their costs made their use prohibitive within the financial limitations established by the community councils. Existing sources of topographical information were studied but were found to be of inadequate scale and detail to fulfil the requirements of a Planning Commission.

A solution to this problem was perceived within the organization of the Provincial Department of Lands and Mines. Here we found an aircraft and aerial camera being used for forestry patrol and management. The fact that this equipment was not used full time for such purpose led us to think that such equipment might possibly be made available for urban mapping of the smaller communities of the province at a relatively low cost.

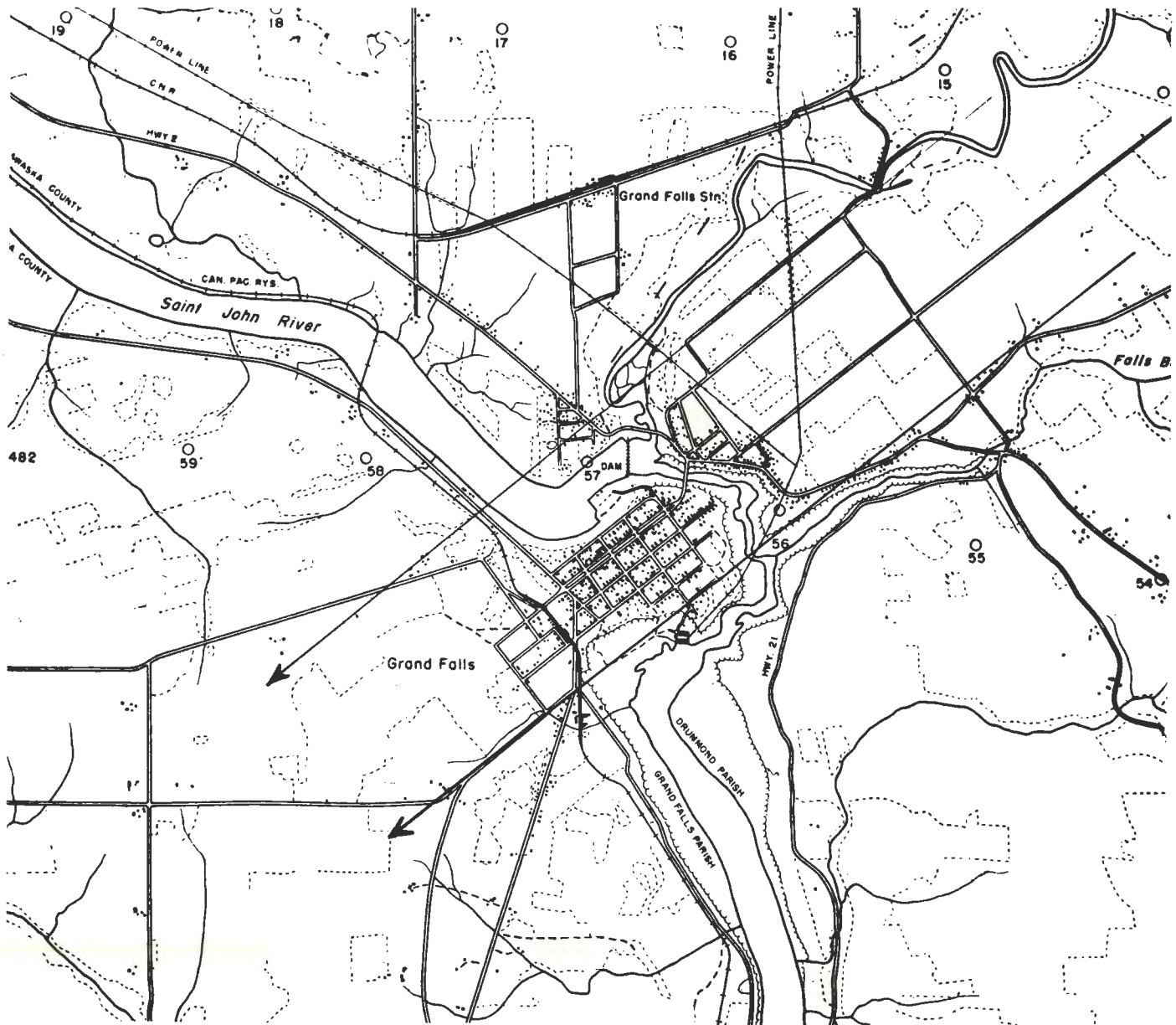
An agreement was made with the Department of Lands and Mines whereby the Department would photograph the smaller urban centres at a cost to the community just sufficient to cover flying time, films, and the expenses of the Photogrammetry Division incurred in developing an aerial mosaic at a scale of 400 feet to the inch. The cost accruing to the community indicated in the accompanying photograph was \$25.

The ability to acquire an aerial mosaic at such low cost brought community planning within the reach of the smallest urban centre. The steps in the development of the community base map are as follows:

\* The author had acquired intimate knowledge and concern for Saint John, New Brunswick, before undertaking studies in Civil Engineering at his provincial University. From 1947 to 1949 he engaged in City and Regional Planning studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and has since served as Director of the Planning Division, Department of Industry and Development of New Brunswick.

<sup>1</sup> Proportion of total population in urban centres of more than 10,000: New Brunswick 18.5%; Prince Edward Island 16.6%; Nova Scotia 25%; Ontario 46%; Quebec 47%.

# INEXPENSIVE BASE MAPS FOR SMALL COMMUNITIES



Map to determine the area for which photographs are required

Carte servant à déterminer la région à l'égard de laquelle on a besoin de photographies

## (a) Determination of flight area

The Planning Division with the local Planning Commission first determine the area for which photographs are required.

In the greater number of cases the boundaries of the community are taken as the limit of flight area; while in others the regional drainage structure, or economic and social consideration, extend the area beyond political boundaries. These limits are drawn

on either the 1320 foot scale Provincial Base Map Compilation Sheets, or the 1320 foot scale R.C.A.F. aerial photographs, and forwarded to the Photogrammetry Division of the Department of Lands and Mines.

## (b) Location of flight lines on flight map

In a great many cases no flight lines are required due to the narrow, strip form of our smaller communities. If the width of the area to be photo-

graphed is in excess of 3000 feet, then more than one 'pass' is required, and the flight lines are drawn on the map at intervals of 4000-5000 feet to obtain a side overlap of 30 percent.

(c) *Flight*

In order to minimize costs of flight time to be charged against the small community, the photography is usually accomplished on the way to and from a forestry patrol operational area. Runs are usually made at 6000 feet altitude with a 8.25 inch focal length, F-56 Fairchild aerial camera. This yields photographs to a contact scale of approximately 800 feet to the inch.

(d) *Ground Control*

One or several photographic prints enlarged to a scale of approximately 400 feet to the inch are forwarded to the local authority in question with indications of the skeleton ground control required.

The local authority, with the assistance of either the Resident Highway Engineer or District Land Surveyor, will make the necessary ground measurements and forward this information to the Photogrammetry Division.

(e) *Development of Aerial Mosaic*

With the ground control secured, the Photogrammetry Division develops an aerial mosaic at a scale ranging from 300 to 400 feet to the inch. We have found the above scale range to be most appropriate from the standpoint of detail and definition.

(f) *Community Base Map*

The base map may be developed by direct tracing of the aerial mosaic or through use of the sketch-master. Ozalid prints of the original tracing are then ready for use as base maps for the various planning studies.

Photographic print enlarged to a scale of 400 feet to the inch to help indicate the skeleton ground control required

*Impression photographique agrandie à l'échelle de 400 pieds au pouce, afin de faciliter le tracé du terrain que doit viser la réglementation*



Photo: Dept. of  
Lands and Mines  
New Brunswick

*L'auteur est l'un des chefs du service de recherche et de mise en valeur des chemins de fer Nationaux du Canada. Il reproche aux urbanistes, lorsqu'ils proposent d'affecter des terrains à de nouveaux usages, de négliger l'importance fondamentale que comportent les besoins de l'industrie. Il préconise fortement l'étude des avantages et désavantages que chaque ville peut offrir à l'industrie et puis il décrit les diverses méthodes de lotissement des terrains destinés à devenir une région industrielle. Il souligne l'importance de ne pas entreprendre un tel relevé dans le détail tant qu'on ne connaît pas exactement ce qu'il faudra pour chaque industrie désireuse de venir s'installer dans une région donnée.*

## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT : PIVOT OF PLANNING

by F. N. Manson\*

EVERY town has its field of industrial or other opportunity, the assessment of which, in some form of community or industrial survey, is the first logical step in community planning and development.

Town planning, which follows upon the community survey—or compilation of assets and liabilities—seeks to regulate the use of the land to provide fully for both present and future needs of the community. The plan for land use must be completely realistic; it must not impose an impossible vision of civic grandeur. Rather it must set forth a practical pattern—sound and reasonable in its conception, but flexible and workable in detail. It must recognize the basic pattern into which the community has been moulded and to which it has accommodated its growth down to the present point of time. Above all, the town plan should preserve the best of that pattern, seeking only to transform undesirable features through well-advised direction of inevitable changes by the studied application of present day knowledge and modern practice.

During recent years there has appeared all too frequently a tendency on the part of some communities to reverse what may be considered the logical approach to town planning and development. There seems, unfortunately, to be an inclination to start with the general assumption that everything is wrong with the community. The detailed development of town plans then gives every emphasis to gracious living rather than to the provision of a proper setting for the earning of that living. Parks and playgrounds "green belts", landscaped breathing spots, thoroughfares, boulevard approaches to future airports, etc., are most desirable and it is not

the purpose of this article to suggest that such projects are redundant or beyond the reasonable requirements of a town plan. The virtually irrevocable and sometimes random allocation of large acreages to these amenities, however, can only result in the introduction of some element of civic hazard affecting the growth and economic development of the community.

All too often it has been painfully evident that, by the time the stage for gracious living has been set in the broad civic plan, there is very little room left for the machinery of bread-winning except on ground that is remote or otherwise useless or difficult of adaptation. There is a very obvious tendency amongst some planners of the more aesthetic turn of mind to be impatient of the continued occupation of desirable sites by factories, commercial enterprises and the land-consuming machinery of transportation. How often do we find town 'plans' where housing developments, arterial highways and parks have been allotted to the vital areas flanking the railway approaches to a city or to strategic water-frontage. Such developments succeed only in rendering sterile that land which is generally best suited for industrial location and which is usually easy of access to the factory workers of the city. Little elaboration is needed to show the effect on the growth of a community whose natural industrial locations have been dissipated through illogical uses.

Thomas Jefferson once said: "Accidental circumstances may control the indications of nature, and in no instance do they do it more frequently than in the rise and fall of towns". Here, then, is where the value of a sound town plan lies, minimizing as it should the incidence of accident or chance in the growth of a community. Sound and well-directed town planning can accomplish a great deal in the formulation and promotion of realistic policies in civic development. For this function no better foundation can be laid than that provided by an intelligent and impartial community survey. The destiny of a city or region, like that of an individual, is still affected by many forces beyond its control. But by

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adapting itself to these forces and by mobilizing and directing the surprisingly large number of forces which are within its control, a community—again like an individual—can alter its own destiny to the profit, both material and spiritual, of all its members.

Planning for industrial development lies at the base of all town and city planning. In a modern community, town planning allocates residential, servicing, recreational, and industrial areas. Citizens must earn a living, and to earn a living areas need to be allocated for industrial and railway purposes. There is a fairly wide choice as to the location of residential and other civic facilities, but the choice of land for industrial purposes and for railways is highly selective. Viewed from the standpoint of the potential growth of an urban community, there is no asset more important than the land topographically suited for industrial use, adjacent to or readily accessible by railway. The essential relationship between the prosperity of the community and the location of railway facilities has too often been obscured, sometimes leading to unfortunate results.

In summary then, the job of town planning is to seek a proper balance between maintaining places of profitable employment and creating places of desirable living environment, all within the limits of an economic and durable transportation system.

#### LOCATION OF INDUSTRIAL SITES

Apart from these general considerations, a few specific requirements of a sound community plan will bear particular mention; they are of crucial importance, and they are frequently overlooked and overshadowed by other more spectacular developments.

Traffic congestion in any city is largely the result of the daily scramble of workers travelling to and from their places of employment. People residing on one side of the community struggle across town to the opposite side, while the same is true in the reverse direction. Others converge from all parts on the centre and still others scatter from the centre to the outskirts. The result is general confusion, which in spite of elaborate and expensive traffic controls necessitates long and tiresome travel by workers to and from their daily tasks. The solution to this problem in a given community obviously requires the provision of residential areas as close as practicable to the industrial areas they are designed to serve, bearing in mind always the invaluable nature of the land topographically suited for industrial use which is immediately adjacent to trackage or waterfrontage.

Where there is a possibility that property adjoining trackage or waterfrontage may develop industrially because of its favourable topography or for other reasons, arterial thoroughfares should not be designed to run immediately alongside the railway or the shoreline. No one likes level crossings, least of all the railway. Yet it

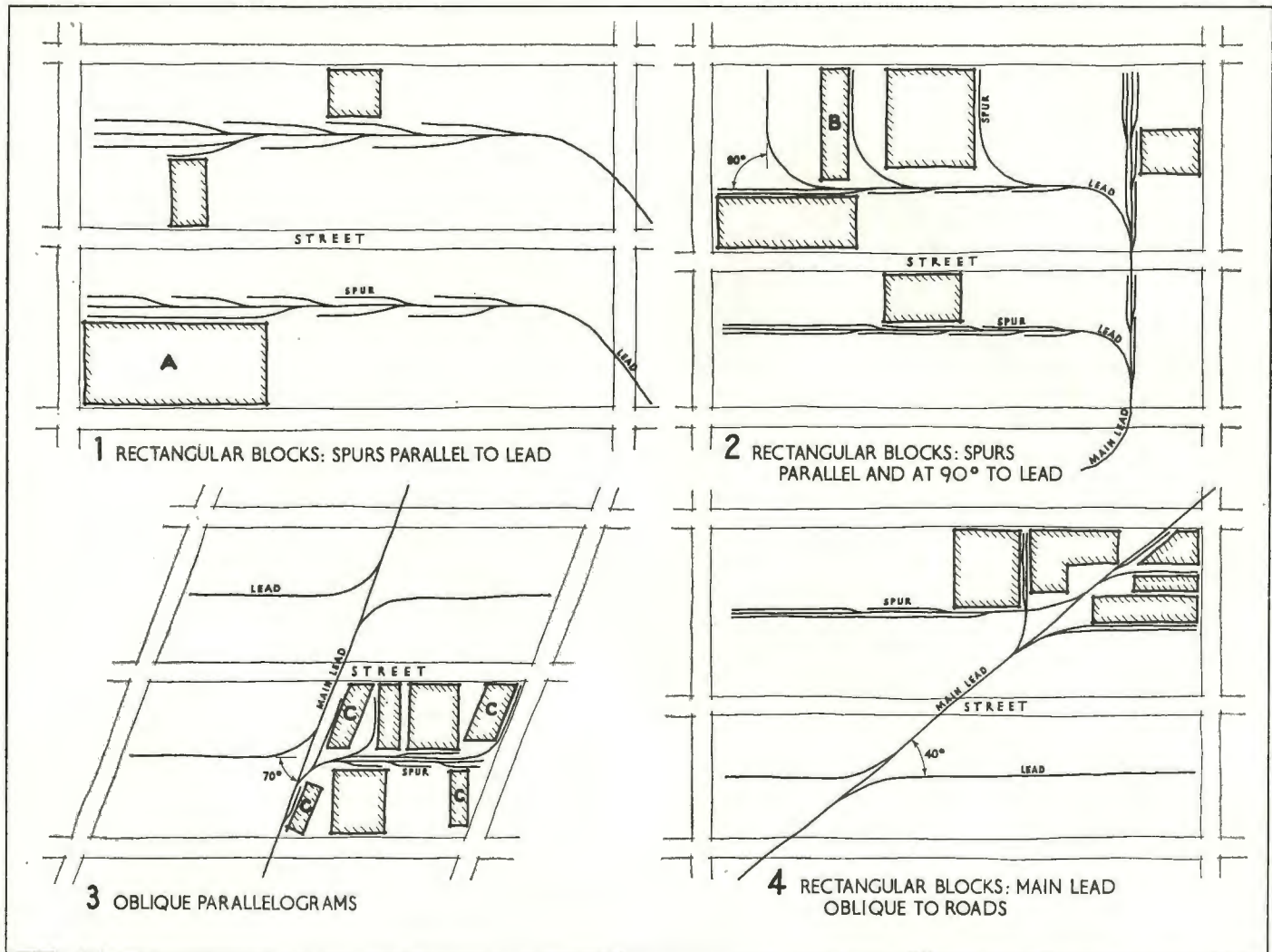
is obvious that if main highways or streets are constructed beside the right-of-way they must be crossed if the railway is to provide industry with the transportation it needs in order to operate to best advantage. In the extreme limit of this case it is not difficult to see how industrially suitable land could be rendered sterile by the refusal of the Board of Transport Commissioners to permit more than a set number of crossings over a thoroughfare which had assumed importance as an arterial highway. At the same time, of course, industrial areas need to be located near a main highway, which should be broadened where it touches the industrial property, so that the area may be adequately served by trucking facilities as well as by rail.

Sufficient thought is not always given to the location of so-called 'obnoxious' industries in the planning of an industrial area. There are certain industrial processes which, because of undesirable odour, dust, smoke or similar discharges, render stagnant the property for a considerable distance around them. Such industries should be located with regard to prevailing winds. Indeed, wherever possible, the direction of prevailing winds might well be taken as a determining factor in the location of any industrial area obnoxious or otherwise. Everyone has noticed the tendency of the residential areas of many cities on this continent to grow westward. The prevailing winds in North America are generally westerlies and this fact may account for the attempt, conscious or otherwise, of people to locate themselves to the windward of industrial activity.

It is excellent forethought in town planning to make provision, in conjunction with railway authorities, for a railway yard within or close to an industrial area. With adequate facilities nearby, the railway is able to give more efficient switching service to the industries it serves and is in a position to ensure a better supply of cars.

The location of a residential section in close proximity to a railway yard is most undesirable. Railways often receive complaints about smoke nuisance and the noise of shunting from persons who have built their houses near a yard many years after that yard had become an established facility.

A question frequently raised by town planners has to do with the nature of track layout in a proposed industrial area. Should spur tracks be laid parallel to the lead track or should they lie at right angles to it? In the interest of space conservation, should lots be laid out on a rectangular or on an oblique parallelogram system? Probably no general answer can be made to cover these and similar questions. Track layout is almost completely dependent on two factors, both of which are largely or entirely beyond the control of the planning authority. One of these circumstances is topography and the other is the individual requirements of industry which may or may not be known at the



Possible track layouts in an industrial area. Topography and the individual requirements of industry are chief determinants

*Disposition possible des voies ferrées dans une région industrielle. On tient surtout compte de la topographie et des besoins particuliers de l'industrie*

time of planning the industrial subdivision. Unquestionably the most economical use of space is achieved when spurs are laid parallel to the lead track obviating the space consumption generally associated with spurs laid at right angles to the lead. Unfortunately, lots are commonly assessed on the basis of frontage, and land costs frequently deter an industry from obtaining sufficient width of property to accommodate the length of spur it requires. In such cases, and for other reasons as well, a spur at an angle to the lead is the only alternative.

By way of illustrating some of the difficulties which may be expected to present themselves to the designer of an industrial subdivision, attention is directed to the figures which accompany this article. Each of the illustrations shows possible track layouts under varying subdivision plots. It is apparent that while the number

of combinations of track plans is theoretically infinite, trackage is nonetheless limited very definitely in actuality to the practical requirements of the industry which it is designed to serve. Accordingly, industrial trackage cannot be planned with any degree of finality until the requirements of industry are known.

Figure 1 shows a rectangular system of subdivision served by trackage in which the spurs are laid parallel to the lead track. It is not difficult to appreciate that, while maximum economy of space is achieved by this arrangement, the widely diversified needs of industry may not always be satisfied. It will be noted how much frontage Plant 'A' has acquired in order to obtain a sufficiently long spur to meet its requirements. Figure 2 illustrates the problems involved when spur tracks are laid at right angles to the lead track. Space is inevitably

consumed by spurs turning through a right angle; to offset this, an industry such as 'B' requiring a comparatively long spur, is able to avoid high assessment based on frontage. Figure 3 illustrates the inherent advantages of the oblique parallelogram system, as well as the drawbacks of this arrangement. The layout shown in Figure 3 makes evident the comparative saving in space obtained when trackage is turned through an angle less than ninety degrees. On the other hand it is seen that certain of the lots, such as those marked 'C', face the prospect either of architectural and constructional difficulties or of poor orientation with respect to street lines. Figure 4 is meant to be a combination of the rectangular and oblique parallelogram systems. Building lines are preserved to some extent, while at the same time the trackage is not required to turn through a full ninety degrees. One of the faults of this arrangement is the considerable wastage of building space adjacent to the main lead track.

The foregoing are some of the reasons why the belief is held that it is not practical to attempt to plan an industrial subdivision in detail before the requirements of industry are known. The obvious and most feasible procedure to follow with respect to the development of potentially industrial lands is first to zone appropriate and suitable areas for industrial use, and then sensibly and progressively to extend the development of the property along an orderly pattern consistent with the specific requirements of industry. In spite of what has been said, there may perhaps be a tendency on the part of some planners to feel that industry should fit the pattern of the town plan rather than vice versa. The answer to this concept is both simple and final. No community can force an industry to locate within its confines or to adapt itself to the community's conditions. An industry which cannot be provided with a desirable location in one community because of planning or other restrictions will simply move on to another where its requirements may be accommodated more readily.

#### SURVEY OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Earlier mention has been made of the value of a community survey, an inventory of the assets and liabilities to which a community has fallen heir, as a foundation or preliminary to an intelligent community plan. Such a survey or inventory will show the natural resources, industrial resources, physical facilities and human and cultural resources and amenities balanced against natural and physical deficiencies. A community survey logically constitutes the first and most essential step in the preparation of a community development plan.

Few pastimes are more satisfying or more wholesome than to count one's blessings. Yet even more important, from the standpoint of town planning at least, is the appraisal of community deficiencies and conflicts. To

set forth an honest statement of liabilities is basic for an assessment of neglected resources and deferred opportunity. The community survey, showing as it does both local assets and liabilities, may furnish the key not only to deferred opportunity but also to the type of new endeavour to which a community's peculiar situation renders it particularly adaptable.

Surveys of the type visualized have followed lines similar in character and order to the following topical treatment: historical sketch; location and physical features; population; industrial development; vacant property; transportation (rail, water, highway, and air); labour and employment record; power costs; industrial and domestic water supply; taxation; wholesale and retail trade; consumer purchasing power; warehousing; living costs, standards and conditions; construction and real estate; service establishments, hotels, amusement centres; banking, finance, insurance; industrial and commercial associations; newspapers and radio stations; expositions, fairs and conventions; universities and educational institutions; churches; government offices or establishments; professional services (medical, engineering, legal, etc.); municipal administration; civic, service and social organizations, etc., etc.

The community or industrial survey needs to have included, as one of its essential features, a basic map defining the area under study. This map furnishes a backdrop against which may be visualized and studied most of the prime elements of the survey. On it a great deal of the resultant data of the survey may be clearly exhibited, such as the physical and topographical features, natural resources, industrial organization, transportation, civic services, community services and facilities, trading and commercial establishments, and so forth.

To the casual observer the community may appear to be a jumbled mass of structures of varied types and quality, in some of which people live and in some of which people work and trade. But out of a study of the setting of these elements against the backdrop of the city emerges a generalized picture of the urban mass. The logic of its structure becomes apparent, its mistakes more obvious, but its opportunities and possibilities a step closer to visualization and ultimate reality.

With the completion of the survey and accompanying base map, the next logical step will be in the direction of planning for future development or, more popularly 'town planning'—some aspects of which have been briefly discussed earlier.

A community's industry or other means of livelihood is the core of its existence and around this core its healthy development must inevitably proceed. If this hypothesis is accepted as valid, then it follows that industrial development must be made the foundation upon which a community's planning is based. The statement of that principle is the predominant purpose of this article.

## Shorter Notes and Reviews

### MISSION DE L'URBANISME

par Gaston Bardet\*

L'URBANISME qui s'impose à l'attention d'un nombre de plus en plus grand de personnes reste encore pour beaucoup une notion assez confuse. M. Gaston Bardet apporte un point de vue substantiel sur la question dans son livre *Mission de l'urbanisme*. Alors qu'on pouvait penser que l'urbanisme était une extension de l'architecture, il nous le présente dans une autre optique qui en fait quelque chose de fondamentalement différent. Cette optique on la trouve pour l'urbanisme comme pour d'autres disciplines professionnelles dans les développements relativement récents des sciences biologiques et sociales. M. Bardet a puisé largement à ces dernières sources et il a élaboré les théories intéressantes et souvent originales qu'il nous livre.

Le premier chapitre de son livre fait une excellente introduction à son sujet. Après une synthèse de l'évolution de l'art urbain en nouvel urbanisme, il décrit les différentes phases du travail de l'urbaniste. Il commence par rappeler que la cité antique avec ses temples et ses palais, la cité médiévale avec ses cathédrales et ses remparts sont bien "la traduction d'un état social, l'expression, l'émanation d'un être collectif. . . Avec la Renaissance, on ne se contente plus de laisser les villes se créer spontanément. . . Le goût du système, le désir de clarté, les inventions nouvelles introduisent dans les cités la ligne droite qui peu à peu rabote les formes organiques. . . Le Grand Siècle porte à son apogée l'art urbain. . . Il transpose les grands tracés des forêts de chasse et des parcs et jardins à la française. . . Bientôt, "le tracé ne se subordonne plus aux localisations mais au décor." Puis c'est le moment de la révolution industrielle, de l'exode vers les villes, de l'apparition des chemins de fer qui sectionnent les villes, des trams, des égouts, de l'automobile. Les exigences administratives prévalent. "L'art urbain échappe de plus en plus aux artistes pour devenir un art mineur." Avec l'énoncé de nouvelles théories sociales cependant des projets s'élaborent, des réalisations apparaissent où prédomine un souci de beauté, une inquiétude sociale. Les gouvernements légifèrent. On voit apparaître et se préciser avec le XXe siècle un nouvel urbanisme qui a pour objet l'aménagement de l'espace.

Le travail de l'urbaniste comprend cinq phases principales. La première est basique et consiste en l'enquête qui a pour but de déterminer des "unités homogènes" des "échelons vivants". "Cette détection . . . aura le grand

avantage de briser les divisions administratives généralement caducques au bout d'un certain temps, même lorsqu'elles ont été calquées sur d'anciennes divisions naturelles; elle brisera aussi les cadres artificiels pour recréer des cellules anthropogéographiques réelles, des groupements locaux homogènes." M. Bardet insiste sur le caractère collectif de cette enquête en ce sens qu'elle requiert la participation des groupes locaux pour lesquels elle sera une occasion de "prendre conscience de leur âme et des nécessités de leur incarnation". L'enquête faite permet l'évaluation des besoins et des activités. La troisième phase, composition du plan directeur, réclame de l'urbaniste une intuition et une imagination créatrice. Il s'agit "de combiner soit des activités sur des surfaces, soit des surfaces au milieu d'activités, de peindre l'homme et le sol dans leurs interrelations et interactions multiples. . . La composition urbanistique n'est pas une extension de la composition architectural telle qu'on la pratique. . . L'aménagement de l'espace . . . est une art entièrement neuf." Elle est "véritablement de la stratégie." L'enquête et l'évaluation critique sont nécessaires si l'on veut que les plans soient réalisables. Les deux dernières phases du travail de l'urbaniste sont orientées à la réalisation des plans. Le programme d'aménagement comprend l'équipement proprement dit et la discipline ou la pré-éducation de l'initiative privée pour ce qui est de l'aménagement de l'espace lui-même et un ordre d'urgence par étape pour ce qui est de sa réalisation dans le temps. Travail délicat qui nécessite une adaptation continue. Le dernier étape comprendra enfin ce que Bardet appelle "l'application éducative et les mises au point". Il insiste sur la nécessité de la soumission aux faits et conclut que "les vrais plans sont surtout des instruments d'éducation pour l'initiative privée, les organismes publics et semi-publics".

Les trois chapitres intitulés Dépassement du Machinisme, l'Echelle de l'homme et les Echelons communautaires constituent une recherche des objectifs ou des idées-forces susceptibles d'orienter la pensée et le travail de l'urbaniste en général. Ils serviront d'état de question à l'étude subséquente de trois problèmes soit ceux de la recentralisation industrielle, de la structure rurale et de la ville-fédération. Du machinisme M. Bardet soutient qu'il faut le "canaliser dans des structures qui le fassent progresser d'optimum en optimum suivant des rythmes proprement biologiques." Il analyse les concepts de foules et de groupes, pour conclure que l'homme ne s'épanouit vraiment que dans le petit groupe. M. Bardet fait encore appel à des données empruntées à la philosophie et aux sciences pour établir que la structure de l'univers est échelonnée, composée de groupes élémentaires qui se fédèrent etc. Il expose les concepts sociologiques d'organisation communautaire, de groupes, d'association. Il aborde le problème des agglomérations urbaines qui "n'ont plus d'âme" et essaie de répondre à la question: "Comment leur permettre d'en retrouver une?" Cette âme urbaine il croit la voir consister en

\* Les Editions Ouvrières; Economie et Humanisme, Paris, 1949 pp. 581 (1037 rue Saint Denis, Montréal, \$6.50).

une certaine prise de conscience de ses habitants en l'oeuvre d'art collective qui est la leur. "L'urbaniste doit, en utilisant les matériaux existants, préparer des cadres dans lesquels les rapprochements humains, se multipliant sans défaillance, solliciteront une union de plus en plus étroite, dans lesquels les hommes s'orienteront vers l'entraide, la coopération, l'amitié, la charité, dans lesquels se noueront les liens communautaires. Il doit organiser l'espace, plus ou moins urbanisé, en vue de provoquer la formation de groupes humains, de communautés dont la fédération formera la Cité.

Pour obtenir cette activité concertée, non seulement il est nécessaire que se fasse la prise de conscience, essentielle, qui réclame l'éducation de chaque groupe, la provocation par enquêtes au besoin, mais il faut recréer, par leur centre, les cadres, les communautés". L'urbaniste connaît les différents échelons urbains par les méthodes de topographie sociale mais il n'atteindra l'âme que par les habitants eux-mêmes "ceux d'autrefois par leurs écrits ceux d'aujourd'hui par leurs paroles et leurs vœux". M. Bardet insiste sur l'état de sympathie et de réceptivité nécessaire à l'urbaniste devant telle ville s'il veut percevoir cette âme. Quand l'âme sera absente, il se fera un appeleur d'âmes.

La comparaison des topographies sociales l'amène ensuite à une classification des échelons communautaires. Il distingue la famille, l'échelon élémentaire composé de 5 à 15 familles, l'échelon domestique de 50 à 150 familles, l'échelon paroissial ou de quartier de 500 à 1500 familles. Ces différents échelons et leur ordre de grandeur sont confirmés dans la nature des choses par des analyses sur le terrain, par les prétentions d'autres urbanistes en Angleterre, aux Etats-Unis, en URSS. M. Bardet va plus loin, il réclame une structure organique faite d'échelons s'interpénétrant. "Il ne suffit pas d'établir un certain nombre d'habitants sur un certain espace. Il faut encore leur donner la possibilité de former une communauté réelle et vivante." Ces échelons jusqu'à un certain volume qu'il fixe à 10,000 familles ne risquent pas de faire disparaître les qualités antérieures des échelons les plus élémentaires. Si l'étude des agglomérations existantes conduit l'auteur à distinguer deux autres échelons, l'échelon métropolitain régional de l'ordre de 50,000 à 150,000 familles et l'échelon métropolitain capitale de 500,000 à 1,500,000 familles il les voudrait comme des fédérations de cités à mesure humaine.

Deux chapitres sont consacrés à la description de plans nationaux d'urbanisme en particulier en Russie, aux Etats-Unis, en Angleterre, en Suisse et en France et contiennent des renseignements pleins d'intérêt, en particulier ce qui a trait à l'urbanisme en URSS et à l'Oural Koutznetz Kominat.

L'auteur passe ensuite aux études les plus solides de son ouvrage. Il expose quatre méthodes destinées à décongestionner les métropoles fortement industrialisées soient: "regroupement des grandes entreprises complémentaires en des noeuds géographiques jusqu'ici non urbanisés. . . transfer des entreprises moyennes auprès

des cités régionales. . . dispersion des petites entreprises dans des villages importants. . . dissémination de la fabrication des petits éléments dans des ateliers familiaux ruraux ou urbains". Il donne les mesures concrètes qui s'imposent pour réaliser cette décentralisation. Il propose une nouvelle structure rurale autour des notions village-centre et village-satellite. Il s'élève contre les agglomérations formées de nombreuses municipalités indépendantes et également contre les grandes villes centralisées. Il préconise la "ville fédération", la "ville en grappes ou fédération de quartiers" jouissant d'une autonomie adéquate mais unie pour faire face aux problèmes communs. Relativement à la politique foncière, il émet que la ville doit profiter de la valorisation du sol et que par conséquent elle doit en acquérir la propriété et en contrôler l'utilisation. Il termine sur les problèmes de la renaissance du quartier et de la constitution de quartiers-jardins.

Y a-t-il une science de l'urbanisme? Il serait osé de répondre dans la négative. Il est généralement admis qu'un certain nombre de connaissances scientifiques sont le propre des disciplines professionnelles comme la médecine, le génie, le service social. Toutes sont obligées cependant de demander leurs prémisses soit à la physiologie, à la biologie, à la pharmacologie, soit à la chimie, à la physique, à la mathématique, soit à la sociologie et à la psychologie. Il en est de même pour l'urbanisme. M. Bardet emprunte libéralement à la sociologie, à l'économie, à la philosophie sociale, à la psychologie. Ici un écueil qu'il n'a peut-être pas toujours évité. Il est dangereux d'utiliser des concepts en provenance d'autres disciplines scientifiques sans pouvoir contrôler s'ils sont toujours d'un usage sûr. Il est permis de se demander par exemple si l'analyse qu'il fait du problème de la recentralisation industrielle résisterait à une critique économique sérieuse. Dans le même ordre d'idée, on peut aussi regretter que les contributions scientifiques étrangères soient si difficiles d'accès au chercheur français. Peut-être est-ce l'absence de ces travaux sérieux qui a induit l'auteur à utiliser parfois des oeuvres beaucoup moins sérieuses et à verser, assez souvent, dans les idées générales.

L'urbanisme est certainement un art. "Artiste et sociologue" à la fois se plaît à répéter l'auteur. Cependant les outils propres à cet art sont de nature bien différente les uns des autres. Sont-ils et suffisamment définis et facilement maîtrisables par la même personne? A la première question, on peut répondre dans l'affirmative pour les méthodes de topographies sociales dans la tradition de Le Play. De la composition du plan lui-même, on peut toujours dire que voilà un outil qui requiert des aptitudes assez différentes de ce que peut exiger l'enquête. M. Bardet mentionne encore les ordres de réalisations dans le temps et l'espace, puis l'application éducative et les mises au point. Ces derniers outils requièrent pour une part des connaissances nouvelles d'ordre sociologique et économique sur le développement des villes, sur les facteurs de changement, de progrès, de contrôle, sur la

vie économique nationale et locale pour l'autre part une connaissance et une utilisation raisonnable du dynamisme des relations humaines. M. Bardet ne laisse pas supposer qu'il a vu toutes les implications du plan d'aménagement. Pour ce qui est de l'utilisation du dynamisme des relations humaines, il publie en annexe un "manifeste du Comité d'Action Mondiale pour l'organisation polyphonique" dans lequel il réfère à la vertu thérapeutique et aux bienfaits du travail de groupe. Cela fera sourire ceux pour qui l'utilisation du processus social dans les groupes est non seulement consciente mais technique professionnelle. On peut donc conclure que si l'urbanisme tel que décrit par M. Bardet est un art, c'est un art qui implique des outils qui ne sont pas tous suffisamment définis et qui peuvent être difficilement maniés par la même personne.

La présentation générale de l'ouvrage est franchement mauvaise. En premier lieu le plan lui-même apparaît enchevêtré. Le premier chapitre est en réalité une introduction au sujet. Deux lectures ne sont pas de trop pour percevoir l'engrenage des chapitres. Et encore les chapitres VI et VII n'ont qu'une valeur d'information et n'ajoutent rien à la trame. Le chapitre X et l'Annexe VII sont l'occasion de conclusions.

Le texte s'embarrasse d'annexes et de sections entières serbeuses et superflues. La phrase demeure touffue, de lecture difficile, parsemée qu'elle est de néologisme, de périphrases colorées et emphatiques comme "métropole monolithique, mécanolatrie, édredon Louis-Philippard, ramener au rythme biologique la fièvre mécanique. Les cartes et les figures très nombreuses (au delà d'une centaine) sont pour la plupart inintelligibles soit du fait qu'on a dû les rapetisser pour les publier soit du fait de l'absence d'explications claires et simples. Fait étrange, elles n'ont guère de relation avec le texte. C'est à croire qu'on nous passe de la carte ou du diagramme parce que ça fait chic. Enfin la maigre bibliographie est pour une part pas très sérieuse et comprend surtout des ouvrages très généraux.

Au cours de l'hiver de 1949-50, la Faculté des Sciences sociales de l'université Laval avait organisé un séminaire de professeurs sur la méthodologie des différentes disciplines sociales. Des professeurs de l'institution aussi bien que de l'extérieur présentèrent à la discussion du groupe un certain nombre de travaux sur leurs disciplines scientifiques. Ce furent tour à tour la géographie humaine, l'histoire, l'économie, la psychologie, la sociologie, la philosophie sociale etc. Il s'avéra qu'à certains moments donnés le géographe dépassant les prémisses posées ou les possibilités de sa méthode, versait dans la philosophie sociale, l'historien dans la sociologie, la sociologue dans la psychologie ou vice versa et ainsi de suite. La conclusion générale qu'on pouvait tirer après chacun de ces sémi-

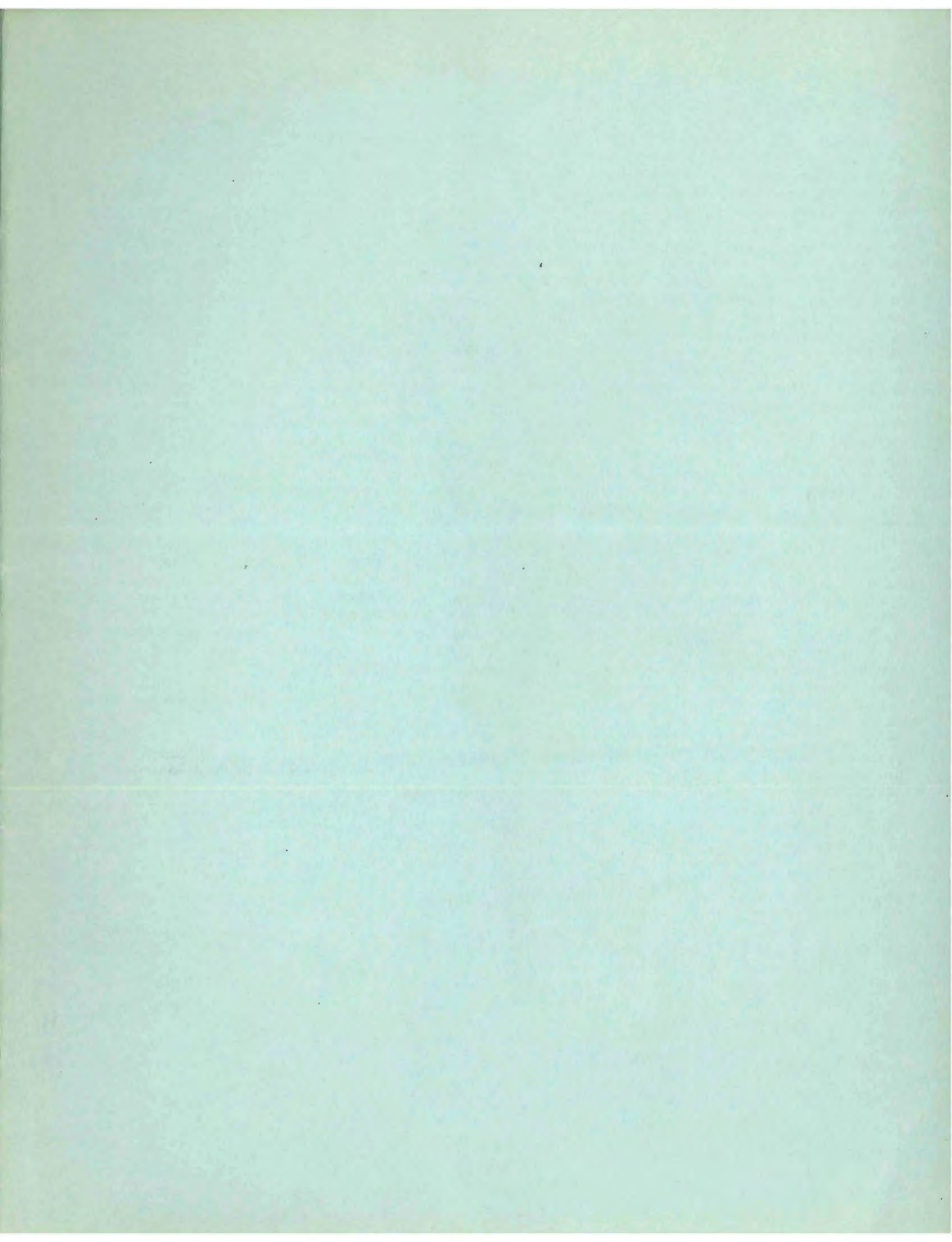
naires c'était que l'objet de toutes ces sciences étant un c'est-à-dire l'homme, chacune d'elles peut contribuer à en serrer la réalité mais aucune d'elles ne peut afficher la prétention d'en épuiser le sujet (si c'était possible) à partir de ses propres prémisses et de ses propres méthodes. Cependant la tentation de la synthèse et des idées générales menace souvent le spécialiste surtout le spécialiste de culture française dans laquelle la culture générale reste en haut degré d'estime. C'est une tentation à laquelle n'a pas su résister Gaston Bardet dans *Mission de l'Urbanisme*.

"L'Urbanisme, écrit-il, constitue l'incarnation de la poussée sociale et communautaire du siècle" Plus loin "Ramener au rythme biologique la fièvre mécanique. Réaliser la synthèse du changeant et du permanent. Incarner la poussée sociale et communautaire du siècle. Ordonner les instincts sociaux allant du grégairisme clos à la sympathie cosmique. Promouvoir l'équilibre entre l'économique et le spirituel au niveau du social. Résister à cette espèce de nivellement par le bas qui déferle sur la planète. Reconstruire silencieusement le monde hors des idéologies partisans et des discours démagogiques. Telle est, en quelques mots, la mission de l'urbanisme, mission dont bien peu soupçonnent l'ampleur, la profondeur, la stabilité." Et encore "L'urbaniste ne peut se contenter de créer des cadres, il doit les animer". Il doit "réaffirmer le territorial contre l'économique; l'infrastructure géo-humaine sur la superstructure économique; réaffirmer le sens du prochain en le généralisant au cosmos tout entier, créer des cadres qui permettent de diminuer les souffrances sur terre qui sont d'abord des souffrances morales." Cet enthousiasme fait quelque peu scandale à l'esprit positif nord américain. D'autant plus que l'auteur se défend mal contre une pointe de fascisme quand il presse les réalisations globales.

Et pourtant voila un livre qui ne manque pas de vision. La pensée qu'anime un souffle quasi prophétique touch l'esprit à une profondeur peu commune. Il manquait à l'urbanisme ce puissant relief susceptible de le placer au premier rang des grands objectifs sociaux de notre ère. M. Bardet y aura contribué pour beaucoup. S'il n'a pas réussi à montrer que la tâche de l'aménagement de l'espace repose si lourdement sur le travail de l'urbaniste, il aura du moins convaincu les travailleurs déjà à l'oeuvre—économistes, sociologues, architectes, travailleurs sociaux—de la nécessité de conjuguer étroitement leurs efforts pour réaliser ensemble cet aménagement social de la communauté de voisinage à la communauté universelle.

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